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ART. I.—THE ISSUES OF 1860.

THE DESIGNS OF BLACK-REPUBLICANISM, AND THE ISSUES OF 1860,
IN THEIR CONSEQUENCES TO THE SOUTH, THE CONSTITUTION, AND
THE UNION.

To J. D. B. DE BOW, Esq.:

SIR: Recent events have determined me to defer to a more convenient season the further consideration of the "*Territorial Status*" of the country, North and South, and to lay before you matters postponed for more than two years, awaiting the propitious time of the present hour. The late abolition raid at Harper's Ferry precipitates the revelation, and may, at last, quicken the dull ear of the South, awaken the land, and cause me now to be heard.

The designs of Black-republicanism, and the issues of 1860, in their consequences to the South, the Constitution, and the Union, cannot be exaggerated. They involve alike the integrity of the Democratic Party, the preservation of the confederacy, and the continuation of the republic. The triumph of Black-republicanism must be the termination of constitutional government and liberty, and the beginning of empire with dictatorial tyranny, or of disunion and civil war.

Under these circumstances what do we behold? An insolent triumvirate, with their satellites, have seized upon, distracted and divided the Democratic Party, while the ranks of Black-republicanism are consolidated under the banner of Seward.

This remarkable man and aspiring political strategist, as I have endeavored to show in the first number of these essays on the "*Political Status*," published in your REVIEW, February, 1857, after overthrowing the "American or Know-

nothing Party" in the State of New-York, which had its being in the debris of the old "Whig Party," and achieving thereby his re-election to the United States Senate, assembled together, in the line of that policy he had persistently pursued during twenty-five years, the varied elements of agrarianism throughout the non-slaveholding States, and, in 1856, riveted their bond of union through the name of John C. Fremont for the presidency, and beneath the "Radical Democratic or Black-republican flag." By this movement he denuded, at one and the same time, the leaders of Know-nothingism and Abolitionism, and stood forth the most powerful political chieftain in the country. These suddenly awoke to a sense of their true situation, to find their strength shorn, and their policy, on either hand, subverted, and themselves compelled into his ranks. Such being the case, it is not at all astonishing they should have imbibed toward him the bitterest hatred, and have determined to war against him from the bosom of his own party. This was more especially the case with the leaders of Abolitionism. The *Tribune* newspaper, published by a humanitarian philosopher, and the *Evening Post* published by a humanitarian poet, led off in the family dissensions that followed. Their first movement was through a distinctive formation upon a third ticket, looking to the gubernatorial election in the State of New-York, by which that State was to be lost to his interest. Always calm, always collected, and always sagacious, Seward read their motives and divined their intentions as quick as thought, and by his "*irrepressible conflict*" speech at Rochester prostrated them at a blow, leaving them more utterly naked than ever.* Now, on the *denouement* of the "Kansas Bill," followed play upon play. While the few surviving and scattered leaders of Know-nothingism were struggling in the direction of Crittenden of Kentucky, and, with that interest, were seeking to sustain Lincoln of Illinois, as against Douglas, those of Abolitionism were exercised, some of them in magnifying Bates of Missouri in the Northwest, some others in extolling Chase of Ohio in the

* On this point the *New-York Herald* very justly remarks, viz.:

"Three years ago the slavery agitation between the North and the South, in Congress and in our political elections, was confined to the territories, upon the still unsettled test question of Kansas. But in 1858, the law of "*popular sovereignty*" having substantially determined the Kansas struggle against slavery, our modern Republican Party, founded in 1856 upon that "one idea," was in danger of being left high and dry. So, in our State election of last year, Gerrit Smith having set himself up as an independent Radical Abolition candidate for governor, our Republican managers became alarmed, for there was danger that Smith would carry off a sufficient fragment of the Radical Anti-Slavery Republican vote to give the State to the Democratic Party. This would never do. Mr. Seward was called to the rescue; and to reclaim the deserters, and to prevent any further desertions to Gerrit Smith, he issued that Rochester manifesto, proclaiming the new Republican programme of an "*irrepressible conflict*" with slavery, not in the territories, but in the slave States.

Lake region, some others proclaiming Cameron of Pennsylvania "Magnus Apollo" in the middle States, and some others in declaring Banks of Massachusetts all in all in New-England. These moves were made for the purpose of arraying local sections and local "heroes" against him. But a private dinner and a short conversation with Senator Douglas at Chicago, destroyed the movement in the direction of Crittenden and Lincoln, and, with it, the last remnant of Know-nothingism; after which, from his library at Auburn, he laughed to scorn the impotent Abolitionists. Firm, unshaken, stronger than ever, with every mass-element of the opposition to the Democracy united upon him, and with fifteen States at his back, embracing the four great States, Massachusetts, New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, assuring to him the chief-magistracy in 1860, he departed for Europe to study European systems in connection with his future purposes, to gather physical health, and to collect, perhaps, from Exeter Hall funds for his coming canvass. Thus he stood on the seventeenth day of October, 1859, when occurred the Abolition raid at Harper's Ferry.

Let not the raid at Harper's Ferry be misunderstood; neither confound abolitionism *per se* with Black-republicanism, or the manifestation of the general organization of the radical democratic party. The late revelations of the "Herald of Freedom," in Kansas, conclusively show, that it was the abolition emigrant-aid societies of New-England that waged civil war in that territory and expelled from it negro-slavery, while the government at Washington, though acknowledging the bloody treason, permitted its enormities, and the Representatives of the South in Congress, timidly and recreantly submitted to the outrages perpetrated against the fundamental, constitutional, political, and property rights of their constituents. These revelations moreover show, that it was the abolition leaders, distinctively as such, who used "Ossawatimie Brown" as their instrument in the Harper's Ferry affair, for the purpose of property robbery in Virginia, and with the ulterior design that the movement should reach, if possible, against Seward as the exponent and ruling representative of the Black-republican party. Brown himself, in his letter to J. Henrie, of September 8, 1859, wherein he exclaims against Black-republicanism, and says, "*he is too salt a dose for many of them to swallow; and thinks that he discovers symptoms of division in their ranks already*,"—gives it to be understood, that he was operated upon in his Harper's Ferry project, as much by sentiments of hostility to *Sewardism* as by hatred of negro-slave institutions.

There can be no doubt that the contest between Seward and the leaders of abolitionism in the ranks of Black-republicanism, is for the control and future direction of that party in the line of their respective policies; and if any difficulty ever existed as to the just comprehension of the differences and distinctions between these policies, that difficulty no longer exists. They are contrasted in the recent speeches of Wendell Phillips and Thomas Corwin delivered in Brooklyn, as reported in the *New-York Times* of November the 2d, and the *New-York Herald* of November the 3d. From the first it will be seen that abolitionism proper is founded on moral frenzy and religious fanaticism; and, negating all law save that of a morbid imagination, all science save that of a diseased fancy, and all government save that of a prejudiced and infuriated mob, looks forward to the social and political equality of the negro with the white man, at whatever sacrifice of life and the industrial interests of the world, amidst rape, rapine, conflagration, robbery, and murder. They have no statesmanship. They ignore the Constitution of the United States and all State constitutions; and they declare the Union to be a "*compact with hell and an agreement with the devil.*" Woe unto the South! Woe unto the whole land, North, as well as South, if the leaders of abolitionism, Giddings, Smith, Chase, Sumner, Wilson, Hale, Garrison, Phillips, Wilmot, Banks, Adams, Greeley, Bryant, and the "*three thousand Puritan preachers,*" should succeed in grasping the reins of Black-republicanism to guide that powerful organization in the line of their purposes. They would be governed alone by a blind rage in the subversion of the social, political, and industrial systems of the South, *whether the South remained in the Union, or went out of the Union*, accompanied by the total loss of the cotton crop, thereby leading directly and inevitably to general starvation and anarchy through the destruction of manufactures. To the beastly horrors of the French Revolution in San-Domingo, would be added the ghastly massacres of the French Revolution, and the squalid miseries of the great famine in Ireland.

Black-republicanism, embracing and controlling abolitionism on the other hand, professes to entertain due regard for law, government, and constitutions. Mr. Corwin but repeats what Seward had previously said, even in his celebrated "irrepressible conflict" speech at Rochester, that whatever shall be done in reference to the subject of negro-slavery, whether as the question affects the States or territories, must be *constitutionally* done.* The present leaders of this party claim to respect

* The *New York Herald* thus substantiates this position in an article headed "The Issue before Congress and the country," viz.:

all existing rights, political, real, and personal. They all negate orally and through their journals the doctrines of the abolitionists proper. But they assert the constitutional supremacy of Congress over the territories for the purpose of excluding negro-slave institutions, and thereby deny the right on the part of slaveholders to take to the territories, and hold therein, property in negro slaves. They moreover look forward with exultation and gratulation to the time, not very distant, when, through amendments to the Constitution constitutionally made, the slaveholding States themselves may be reached and controlled by Congress in the line of their real designs. As constructed and directed by Seward, their organization is political, and separate from religious fanaticism and moral frenzy; and so long as it remains political, is only potent for evil while the South shall continue the Union. Nor are they destitute of policy and statesmanship. They have not only evolved a broad and profound policy, but have mentally eliminated a comprehensive and far-reaching statesmanship which contemplates, by the constant accession of "free States" from "free territories," and by a continually accumulating and preponderating population, generating an overwhelming and all-controlling majority of senatorial and popular representatives, the gradual consolidation of the government through amendments to the Constitution thus to be wrought, and the conversion of the confederacy into empire as necessary to the suppression of rebellion and anarchy, while preserving the forms of a representative republic, through clothing the President with dictatorial powers as aforetime was in Rome.

Abolitionism, as we have said, governed by moral frenzy and religious fanaticism, has no stopping point; and Black-republicanism, in the hands of the abolition leaders, would pursue its objects at the South with all the fury of prejudice and rage of war after disunion. But Black-republicanism, as a political organization in control of abolitionism, has a stopping point, and ceases its power for mischief in regard to the South, at least with disunion. *On one point alone, is there absolute agreement between the two, and that is the ultimate property robbery of the South in respect to both real and personal estate; and even here, the means the one would resort to are different from those the other would pursue, as will presently appear.*

"The issue before Congress and the country is the abolition of slavery in the slave States. We know that Mr. Seward pleads the plea of a constitutional crusade; but we know that constitutions and laws can be twisted into any shape by designing and reckless men. Helper and Brown are the true interpreters of the 'irrepressible conflict.' It means an aggressive conflict against slavery, a conflict of abolition forays from the free States, of servile revolts, of agrarian conspiracies, and the subjugation and suppression of slavery and the 'slave power' by terrorism, and by fire and sword."

Let us proceed, however, to elaborate more carefully the impelling motives and stupendous designs of Sewardism infiltrating this monster organization of the "Radical Democracy." The operating causes and political movements that culminated in the formation of this party under the auspices of Seward, we traced in sequential detail, in our essay on the "*Political Status*" above referred to, and to that essay, together with what we have said on the "*Territorial Status*," in the July and September numbers of your REVIEW, 1859, we refer for the prelude to the matter now following. The arguments were brought down on both subjects to the period of the Kansas issue, fraught with the destinies of the nation; and yet, an issue, suffered as we have said, to be seized upon and controlled by abolition and Black-republican treason, without resistance by the government at Washington, and without protest by the South, *although the traitors, robbers, and murderers, engaged in that work, were identically the same with those similarly employed at Harper's Ferry*, leaving a foul blot that will stand alike and eternal upon the history of the administration and the escutcheon of the South.

The Texas policy of President Tyler, in settlement of the slavery question, while rounding off our limits, having been overthrown by President Polk; the Treaty of "Guadalupe Hidalgo," re-opening the slavery agitation and the sectional issue, having been formed and ratified; the "Wilmot-Proviso" and the Compromises of 1850, sacrificing the natural and constitutional rights of the South, having been enacted and applied; the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," repeating the last shadowy remnant of the "Missouri Compromise line," having been consummated; and the territorial domains of the confederacy having been thus, step by step, passed into the hands of the North; the mind of Seward, hitherto fettered by the temporary political necessities, that from time to time had enveloped his political career, compelling him to consult local elements, prejudices, and passions, though which to maintain his position in the national councils, burst its bonds under the force of the new order of things that now arose, and soared to the full height of his most towering ambition. He perceived that a civil revolution had been already achieved; that the Constitution had been already virtually subverted; and that the government was in fact a demonstrated failure, thereafter to be controlled by the majority of the hour, and soon to terminate, *if the union should hold*, in a centralized empire, to be wielded, in the line of all history, by the popular favorite that wild clamor should elevate on its own neck to the throne of despotism

A profound and thoughtful student of the annals of Tacitus, in their striking parallelism and application to our social and political condition, during that transition period when the old republic was passing into the empire of the Cæsars, without the alteration of a name or form that belonged to the ancient constitution—as may be readily ascertained from his extraordinary speeches—he set himself to the task of Marius and the great Julius, and under a liberal, generous, and magnanimous banner that equally appealed to every man's element throughout the non-slaveholding states, attracted their regard, and, *with a solitary exception hereafter to be honorably mentioned*, combined them all into that concentrated and powerful agrarian organization, called by themselves the "Radical Democratic party," but better known as "Black-republican," with himself as its apex. Long before this the property interests of the North had become alarmed at the daily increasing and overwhelming numbers and powers of the non-property holders enjoying equally the right of suffrage with property holders, and consequently, directing State legislation, so that all the burdens of government, civil and municipal, together with all the expenses of a general system of education, should be fastened upon property, *in itself unrepresented, and without a voice in its own protection*. This had led to the earlier struggles in the national councils at Washington for the possession of the territories by the North, and, finally, to that system of agrarian enactments, parcelling out the public domains into "*free*" farms for the multitude. These movements were intended by the representatives from the North to diminish danger at home, to secure their own doors, and to divert the hordes of agrarianism by supplying those necessities their will demanded. Regarding these facts, Seward, with the Black-republican party, now fully organized and returning a majority to Congress, resolved to hold, with an iron grasp, the territories as against the South, and to close in the slave-holding States until the time should come when they would be demanded as a prey to feed the Northern vulture. *Hence he encouraged the Emigrant Aid Societies in their treason; hence he smiled approvingly upon Beecher, holding the Bible in one hand and Sharp's rifle in the other; hence his ceaseless diatribes concerning the aggressions of the South; hence his fervid denunciations of the Lecompton Constitution; and hence his studied defence of the Topeka outlaws in Kansas.* He saw that, with the securing of Kansas as a non-slaveholding State, the doom of the South was sealed in the Union; that the slaveholding States, through the natural and constitutional flow of

events afterwards, would necessarily become, first, provincialized in a government they had contributed everything to form and sacrificed everything to maintain; and next, be driven, in some instances to relinquish their domestic institutions, and in others to submit to such changes as might be dictated by the North holding the government, exercising its authority, and wielding its power. It was in view of all these designs of Black-republicanism and consequences to the South, that, two years ago, in January, 1858, during the pendency of the Kansas question, and while the South might yet have been rallied as a unit to prevent the threatened catastrophe, I addressed to their representatives in Congress the following appeal, to wit:

"The surrender of Kansas to the operation of the *Majority Rule* in the territories, under the cry of '*popular sovereignty*' without the Constitution, and her absorption by the non-slaveholding power of the country, will make the evil of the times no longer prospective, but *instant and imminent*. By the fact of this surrender the South will become subordinate and the North predominant in the Union. Never, again, in the Union, could the equilibrium of State-sovereign representation between the South and the North be either maintained in or restored to the Senate. Never again, in the Union, could the equality of the South with the North be either maintained in or restored to the House of Representatives. No further barrier could be constructed between either the aggressive territorial, or the political rapacity of the North and the weakened and diminished South. The South, like the dead body of Hector bound to the car of Achilles, will soon be dragged by the triumphant North around a ruined possession, quickly to be followed by the erasive ploughshare of the subverting conqueror.

"The loss of Kansas to the South will involve the loss of Missouri, and the loss of Missouri will destroy the moral, as well as the political prestige of the South and invade the integrity of their institutions. The moral prestige of States, like that of individuals, once destroyed, no earthly power can restore; and the integrity of State establishments, like the chastity of woman, once subjected to invasion, continues at the will of the despoiler. With abolitionized Iowa stretching along the Northern boundary of Missouri, and abolitionized Kansas covering the western boundary, while through Kansas and Iowa there poured into her bosom, from the more inhospitable lake and northern Atlantic regions, a continuous stream of agrarian Radicals, alike determined to obtain control of her government and to assert the *rule of the majority* in the line of emancipation, slave property in Missouri will soon become too precarious in its tenure to be holden, and the necessity for its sale or removal will at once arise. It may be confidently asserted that, in a few years, Missouri under these circumstances will cease to be a slaveholding State. Already, in view of the anticipated result, abolition journals have been started in Missouri, and some of her candidates for Congress have boldly unfurled the banner of emancipation.

"Now, the loss of Missouri to the South will involve the loss of the Creek and Cherokee domain, the Choctaw and Chickasaw domain, New-Mexico and Arizona, which otherwise could be saved to the slaveholding interests of the country and the harmonious equilibrium of the Union. It is known that the Creeks and Cherokees number from thirty to forty thousand free inhabitants holding at least ten thousand negro slaves. The facts as to the Choctaws and Chickasaws stand in a similar ratio. The white man's blood predominates in both nations, strongly coloring each with the mental forms and expressions of the white race. They have each a regular government with distinct legislative, executive, and judiciary departments; with a common-school system; with Christian churches established in many directions; and with the arts of agriculture considerably developed. Each is gradually preparing to enter the Union as a slaveholding

State. But with abolitionized Kansas and Missouri (both being now subject to the North) along their northern limits, the flood-gates will be thrown open through which the abolition tide will sweep with resistless energies, driving before it, or overwhelming in its deluge, alike the hybrid Indian and the negro-slave, thus ultimately adding both domains to swell the colossal power of the North.* New-Mexico and Arizona will now be thrown between the 'free soil' States formed out of the territories of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, on the east, the 'free soil' States of California on the west, and the free States of Mexico on the South. Negro-slave property in neither could be held for a day, and they too will inevitably become incorporated in the monstrous proportions of the North.

"In the next place, the loss of Kansas, of Missouri, of the Creek and Cherokee domain, of the Choctaw and Chickasaw domain, of New-Mexico, and of Arizona, being a loss of six States rightfully belonging and legitimately attached to the slaveholding interests of the South, will involve the loss of Arkansas, another slaveholding State, and of Texas, warranted, by the law of annexation, to be divided into five slaveholding States, thus making a positive loss to the South of twelve States, which in justice, as well as through a wise and politic statesmanship, should be saved to the slaveholding interests, looking to the future prosperity and welfare of the whole country, north as well as south, and subjecting to abolitionism the entire western shore of the Mississippi river, reaching beyond the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, and down to the Rio Grande, and convulsing Louisiana with servile war, saturating her soil with blood. With Kansas and Missouri abolitionized, and lying on the north and northwestern boundaries of Arkansas, and with abolition States formed out of the Creek and Cherokee domain, and that of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, on her western limits, Arkansas will be circumstanced precisely as Missouri had been previously circumstanced, and negro slavery will be lost to Arkansas, in the same manner it had been lost to Missouri. No obstacle will now exist to the progress of the abolition agrarian horde of the North, through Texas to the line of the Rio Grande. This great State, in point of geographical extent, is divided into three parts. Beginning on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, the first division is a vast coast prairie, extending four hundred miles in length, from the Sabine

* If the *New-York Tribune* issued on November 7, the day of the last State election in New-York, be referred to, it will be seen that that journal congratulates its own party upon the "forcible seizure of Kansas," and urges the same thing to be done with the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw and Chickasaw country and New-Mexico. The preachers of New-England are now actively engaged in the Indian country striving to produce between the Indians bloody and exterminating strife, by exciting their congregations against the slaveholders among them as "God abandoned, doomed to hell, and unfit to live." If blood could be once shed extermination would be the result under the *lex tali-nis* that prevails, and thus the country would be left to the occupation of the "Emigrant-Aid-Societies." The following is the language of the *Tribune*, and we especially call attention to its agrarian appeal substantiating our argument, viz.:—

"In the Missouri struggle, in the vote on the Wilmot Proviso, in the disruption of the New-York Democracy in 1848, in the Nebraska bill, in the Kansas collision, and at every stage of the great controversy New-York has maintained her original affirmation that freedom is national, slavery sectional, and that the territories of the Union are to be consecrated to free labor alone. The long struggle visibly approaches its termination. We have proved in the case of Kansas, that an earnest and active Free Labor party in the States can keep slavery out or drive it out of the territories, even with the federal administration in the hands of its adversaries. Kansas is about to apply for admission as a free State—a Republican State—under circumstances which will render further opposition damaging to those who attempt it. New-Mexico, just seized by the slave power, must next be reclaimed; then the territory soon to be formed in the region now occupied by the Creeks, Cherokees and Choctaws. A few years more of fidelity and vigilance will close up this long struggle by rendering a further diffusion of slavery impossible. Be steadfast a little longer, men of New-York! and millions shall rise hereafter to bless your memories!

"Laboring Men! remember that the Republican is the only national party committed to the policy of making the public lands free in quarter-sections to actual settlers, whereby every worker will be enabled to hew out for his family a home from the virgin soil of the Great West. That policy will diminish the pressure of competition for employment in our great cities, lighten the burdens imposed on industry and thrift by beggary and pauperism, while increasing the demand for and profits of labor in cities, by enlarging rapidly the area and amount of our internal commerce. Every farm cut out from the wild prairies is an added tributary to the business and income of New-York. The land question alone ought to give the Republican party a large majority of votes in our city. Think of it, Laboring Men!"

to the Rio Grande, with an average width of forty miles. In addition to the two rivers mentioned, the Brazos, the Colorado, the Guadalupe, the Trinity, the San Antonio, and the Nueces, make their exit to the Gulf across this region, and within its bounds, their waters may be said to be navigable. The soil is a black alluvial, the deposits of unnumbered ages, formed by the recession of the waters of the Gulf, and, for productiveness, equal to any in the world. Under a just expansion of the slaveholding, with the non-slaveholding interests of the country, here alone would be garnered as much cotton and sugar as are now obtained from the entire Union. The second division extends along the Red River, and its streams, covering a space as large as that occupied by Virginia, and consists of a chocolate colored soil, well adapted to tobacco and the cereals, and favorably comparing with the richest grain-growing and tobacco lands of the earth. The third division embraces the remainder of the State, in extent, four times the magnitude of Virginia, reposing on the upper waters of the rivers mentioned, and consisting, for the most part, of an elevated, rolling, and perfectly salubrious country. There is not to be found, a region more productive in the natural grasses than this, and, consequently, it is not excelled for stock-raising purposes. Thus, is this magnificent State, spread out on the map, beneath a temperate sun, and in the midst of a genial clime, a glory and a blessing to the family of man, if left to legitimate and unforced settlement. But under the progress of precedent events and results, it must be seen, that, with non-slaveholding States, formed out of the Indian Territory on her north, and out of New-Mexico and Arizona on her west, while Mexico occupied her south, the second and third divisions will rapidly fill up with a *free-soil* population, controlling the slaveholding population of the first division, and impelling and precipitating the negro slaves of that region into the ocean.* The situation of Louisiana will now be deplorable, indeed. Surrounded on all sides save the east, by emancipated States, and with the negro slaves of Missouri, of Arkansas, of the Creek and Cherokee, Choctaw and Chickasaw domain, and of Texas, all massed down upon her as they were sold out, and placed beyond due restraint, because of the facilities afforded them, to escape punishment, by fleeing into the adjoining "free" States, and because of the magnitude of their number over that of her white citizens, Louisiana will inevitably fall a prey to internecine servile wars, so terrible, that to live in their midst would be worse than to die, at the bare contemplation of which the mind shudders with horror.

"Nor are we permitted, yet, to rest our pen, in tracing the sequences that will follow, to the South, from the loss of Kansas, as a negro slaveholding State.

While events are progressing to the fatal issues described, on the west of the Mississippi, others no less disastrous will be concomitantly evolved to the east of that river. An extensive journey, recently made through the Southern States, has enabled me to observe ocularly the fact, that a *non-slaveholding* population, chiefly from the north, entertaining, for the most part, undisguised abolition sentiments; predominates in the States of Delaware and Maryland; and that a numerous body of Northern-born men inhabit the northern and western counties of Virginia, the eastern and northern counties of Kentucky, the western counties of North Carolina, the eastern and middle counties of Tennessee, and are to be found among the merchants of the cities of the Gulf coast, among the managers and employes of the Southern railroads, steamboats, and hotels, and among the corps editorial, a majority of whom are Northern men, holding, at present, suppressed sentiments, adverse to negro slavery, but ready, so soon as they attain to a popular majority, to speak out openly, in co-operation with the abolitionists of the North. In addition to these alarming facts, the slaveholders themselves, by pursuing the unwise and selfish policy of training up their slaves to the mechanic trades, and hiring them out

* Western Texas is already seriously threatened with being formed into a non-slaveholding State. The representatives of Texas entertain decided apprehensions of the fact; and the Brownsville affair simply grows out of the fact that the Americans, on the line of the Nueces, and between that river and the Rio Grande, chiefly from the North, have driven out the original Mexican inhabitants, now citizens of the United States, in order to get possession of their lands. I have had ocular demonstration, that a non-slaveholding population throughout that country, are seeking to cut out a non-slaveholding State in that direction, south of slavery.

in competition with white mechanics, thus degrading mechanical pursuits to the condition of menial services, have originated in all directions, among the non-property men of the South, whether from the North, or born to the manor, a feeling of deep-rooted jealousy and prejudice, of painful antagonism, if not hostility, to the institution of negro slavery, that threatens the most serious consequences, the moment Black-republicanism becomes triumphant in the Union. It is to these classes at the South, that the abolition orators, and Black-republican journals of the North, are continually addressing the following language, to be found all over the pages of Putnam's Magazine, and the Tribune newspaper, to wit: *'The slaveholding interest of the South is a mere class interest, and not an institution of any State, or of the United States; and it is by no means the most important class interest in the Southern States, but an interest, circumscribed by three hundred thousand slave owners only, out of a white population of six millions, furnishing the sole aristocratic element to American society. It should, therefore, be made to yield to the more equalizing system of the Radical Democracy, and to the largeness of the largest number, associated with those who are not slave owners.'*

"If it be desirable to preserve the patriarchal system of negro slavery now subsisting at the South, as the very best basis of social order and of moral and domestic integrity, as well as an agricultural necessity, which none may doubt, who has evoked wisdom and virtue in pursuing the question, slaveholders should allay this antagonism in their midst, by agreeing, through legislative action, to confine the negro to the soil, thus to elevate and open up the mechanic trades to the non-slaveholding people around them. Dignify the trades to the level of the professions, in common acceptance, and idling, loafing, lounging, fox-hunting, or, in other words, general dissipation of health, energy, and time, among the young men of the South, would almost entirely cease, and in their place be substituted general and busy industry. By confining the negro to the soil, the mechanic would be at once converted from an open, or secret enemy of negro slavery, into its firmest advocate and supporter, because he would then feel himself lifted up in the scale of social respectability, and maintained in that position by the subordinated negro confined exclusively to menial services. Before the law and the community, all white citizens would stand strictly on a footing of equality, and be alone distinguished by courtesy and merit.

"But it is my province here to look to facts as they are, rather than as I would they were, and looking to the facts before us, it is obvious that both Delaware and Maryland in a few years must yield to the abolition demon. The prestige of the South and the integrity of their institutions being invaded and destroyed in the manner indicated, the constant accumulation of Northern population, and concomitant accretion of abolition sentiment, in Delaware and Maryland, will compel them both to emancipation. Delaware now is only in name a slave State, and negro slavery in Maryland is almost confined to two congressional districts, at the same time that she numbers an immense mass of 'free negroes,' as a fruitful source of future insurrectionary trouble.* With the loss to the South of Kansas and Missouri on the west, and of Delaware and Maryland on the east, while the abolition States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois occupied the north, Virginia and Kentucky on the west, east, and north, will become the recipients of an overwhelming non-slaveholding population, quickly swelling the numbers of non-slaveholders in those two States, into a ruling majority, and changing, as if by magic, their present deeply-felt, but only whispered sentiments, adverse to negro slavery, into loud thunders of

* There are ninety thousand free negroes in Maryland, and an immense number of Northern men filled with abolition sentiments. The city of Baltimore, in the hands of "Know-nothings," and represented in Congress by such men as Davis and Harris, who co-operate with the Black-republicans, may be made the grand centre, at any moment, of the most bloody and terrible foray on the part of the Abolitionists, against the counties of the eastern and western shore that are slaveholding, for the purpose of expelling slavery from the State. If John Brown had made Baltimore the seat of his operations, and directed his movements against the country south of Baltimore, on both sides of the Bay, we are not prepared to say what the consequences and results would have been.

indignation at the existence of the institution, and stern notes of defiance to the slaveholders. Virginia and Kentucky will thus be compelled to send out, or sell out, their slaves to the planting States, and surrender to the Moloch of abolition. To say nothing as to the effect of these things on the eight remaining slaveholding States, although it is evident they would be but as smoking flax in the fire, it must be seen that, *through the present loss of Kansas to the interests of the South, and the after-continuance of the Union, the South will lose sixteen States, legally, geographically, and legitimately, their own, be shorn of their strength and glory and reduced to a cipher, with the whole burden of resistance to Black-republican tyranny, wielding all the powers of an immense empire, resting on the planting States alone—a load so onerous that the combined powers of Europe, then in alliance, could hardly enable them to bear successfully.*

“Nor yet are these all the bitter fruits of the Union that the South will reap from the loss of Kansas, the more especially if the Black-republican party shall come to grasp the government with Seward as President. The North will be acquiring yearly new States from the territories, all of which are subject either to the law of popular sovereignty or the simple majority rule, the local Mexican law, or to the Wilmot Proviso, as we have shown in the ‘*Territorial Status*,’ so that before all the sequences described are wrought out, the non-slaveholding power in the government will become sufficiently great to amend the Constitution, under the terms of the instrument itself, investing Congress with full control over the subject of general emancipation. Already, with a majority of States in the Senate, and a preponderating voice in the House of Representatives, Minnesota, Oregon, and Kansas, are presented for admission as ‘free States.’ Others of similar character will rapidly follow from Washington, Dacotah, New-Mexico, Arizona, Nebraska, and Superior. *In a single life-time the constitutional requirements as to amendments will be met.*

“The mind accustomed to trace premises to their consistent conclusions, and to consider lines of causation with an analytic eye, cannot fail to see this to be no exaggeration. The Black-republican party, now in full possession of the North, declare themselves to be *crusaders in the cause of negro emancipation*; and I have heard leading Democrats even, men of character and renown at the North, assert that *‘they had carefully traced out the question with the map before them, and that in fifteen years there would be seventy non-slaveholding States to not more than ten slaveholding States in the Union.’* And a distinguished gentleman of this party, a recent representative in Congress from the city of Philadelphia, on Independence square, within the echoes of that Hall where the declaration of our rights and the Constitution of the United States both had their birth, pandering to the general sentiments around him, asseverated, in allusion, we presume, to the ordinances of 1784-’7, the Missouri Compromise of 1819-’20, the Wilmot Proviso of 1848, the Compromises of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854, that *‘every abolition triumph under the government had been achieved by the Democratic party.’* With the Black-republican party thus powerful, and the Democratic party thus demoralized, where may the South look for safety, friendship, and support, in the Union? Let them for the future look only to themselves. ‘Who would be free themselves must strike the blow.’ Let them listen no more to the serpent voice of *Compromise*, neither trust to *flibustering raids* for the acquisition of additional Southern territory. Let them firmly hold that which is now theirs, and boldly strike for that which should be theirs. Above all, let them never abandon Kansas as a negro-slaveholding State, and as their *last barrier, their last bulwark, and their last outpost, against Northern encroachment and aggression.* Then, perhaps, they may save the *sixteen States* they will otherwise lose through the loss of Kansas and the continuation of the Union, and thereby be enabled to advance with equal strides with the North. A course of firmness, of decision, of resisting determination and courageous action, *yielding nothing either to the spirit of peace or the demon of war,* is the only course by which the South may win, or hold territorial rights, enforce the observance of the Constitution and the laws, erect a party on which they may repose with safety, and maintain their interests in the Union. Any other course is an abandonment of principle to false expediency, is an abnegation of self-respect, is the course of weakness and cowardice, of folly and poltroonery, and will court

danger to pursue them, to overwhelm and to destroy them. Think not that Kansas can be lost to the cause of the South, and the South be saved from absorption by the North in the Union. If effect harmoniously follows cause, if the sequents of a mathematical problem flow consequentially from their antecedents to their ultimate conclusions, all the Southern States mentioned, one by one after the other, and all the deplorable results indicated, step by step in regular gradation, will march in funeral procession along the line of destiny, attendant upon the obsequies of the South, depleted by the leach of '*Compromise*' and then struck dead by the galvanic shock of '*popular sovereignty and the majority rule.*'"

But we wrote and spoke in vain. In vain we endeavored to lay bare the issues between the North and the South, in their whole magnitude, in a speech delivered at Mobile, during the fall of 1857, addressed to the "*Slaveholders of Alabama without distinction of party.*" The leaders of the South continued absorbed in schemes of personal ambition, and were circumscribed in their vision by the prospect of a mission to France, or a seat in the Cabinet, or the shadowy chance of a presidential nomination in 1860. The comprehensive mind of Seward alone became impressed with the full aspect of the times. He not only saw that Kansas was the great turning point of the future—and hence countenanced and defended the seizure of that territory by abolition outlaws through force of arms—but also perceived that all the sequences detailed would constitutionally follow, and therefore, that the South, *if the abolitionists proper proved wise*, would never be furnished legitimate ground or legal justification for disunion—and hence in the senate chamber, he insolently spat upon the gabardine of the South, derided the idea of disunion, and exclaims against treason! in the very face of his own hireling traitors in Kansas, whom the administration had left unwhipt of justice, and in the presence of the undeniable historical facts associated with the North, that in 1785-'6, they had, for the most part, withdrawn their representatives from the Continental Congress to enforce their demands against the South in respect to the northwest territory; that in 1787-'8, they threatened the defeat of the work of union in the convention unless the South yielded to their demands in the same respect; that in 1819-'20, they determined to destroy the Union itself if the South refused to surrender the greater part of the Louisiana purchase; and that in 1846-'7-'8, and 1850, they again agitated and jeopardized the existence of the Union to compel the South to place in their hands the Mexican acquisitions;—thus conclusively showing their regard for the government and Union was never founded in sentiments of fraternity and patriotism, but altogether upon consideration of advantage to themselves and the love of power; whereas the South, in every instance cited,

yielded to their demands, and, in so yielding, yielded up their all for the abstract love of Union, founded in the memories of the past, and in sentiments of fraternity and patriotism. The abolitionists proper, through the ill-advised raid of "Ossawatimie Brown" at Harper's Ferry, in their restive haste to grasp the South by the throat, now that Black-republicanism has the constitutional force of the government, acted in the teeth of the real designs and more prudent policy of Seward following the armed seizure of Kansas. Understanding him, as we are convinced we do, we feel assured the game was too small for him to have pursued, and had he been in the country, we do not doubt, he would have frowned down the miserable conspiracy. *His work against the South is more broadly conceived; more deeply founded; has for its object grander results; and will be sure, if the South shall fail to profit by the "overt act" committed at Harper's Ferry—never intended by him to have been committed—and shall suffer the present status of affairs to continue in the Union.*

Presuming the Union to continue, the thoughtful questioner of events cannot doubt that, *in ten years*, the North will hold, sectionally, the requisite constitutional number of States, senators and representatives, to enable them to propose and adopt amendments to the Constitution as they may please. The language of the Constitution upon the subject reads: "The Congress, whenever *two thirds* of both Houses *may* deem it necessary, *shall propose* amendments to this Constitution, which *shall be valid* to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when *ratified* by the legislatures of *three fourths* of the several States, or by conventions in *three fourths* thereof." Considering Kansas as already admitted, and Delaware as already attached to the northern section, the Union stands composed of *twenty* non-slaveholding to *fourteen* slaveholding States, giving the first *forty* and the latter *twenty-eight* senators, and the first *one hundred and forty-nine* and the latter *eighty-nine* representatives. The gain of *two* free States by the North, and the loss of *two* slave States by the South, will increase the first to *twenty-four States, with forty-eight senators*, and reduce the latter to *twelve States with twenty-four senators*, which, at once, secures the requisite majority in the Senate to *propose* amendments. With a start of *sixty* majority in the House, and a white population in the proportion of *eighteen millions to six millions*, it cannot be long before the North shall obtain the requisite vote in the House. But *three fourths* of the States are necessary to *ratify* proposed amendments. Will this be so difficult for the North to secure out of the im-

mense territories altogether and exclusively at their disposal, through a large majority in both Houses, or under the auspices of a Black-republican President? Would it not be an easy task for Seward, under these circumstances, to cut up the territories into from twenty to fifty States, and to bring them into the Union with fractional populations, even, so as to procure the constitutional number required? The question presents a fact too plain for argument, and the treasons of Kansas and Harper's Ferry do not permit the mind to halt in its conviction because of the immoral nature of the proceeding. But without this, recurring to our argumentative appeal above quoted, as submitted to the senators and representatives from the South during the Kansas issue, it must be seen that the ceaseless accumulations of Northern population, and the legitimate accessions of Northern States from the territories, combined with the rapid subversion of Southern States in the Union, will surely accomplish, in this respect, within the time designated, all the aspiring anticipations of Seward, and chain the South to the triumphant car of his ambition.

Substantiated by the recent elections in the control of every Northern State save California, and, perhaps, Illinois, this daring politician contemplates first, an election and then a re-election, to the Chief-Magistracy by the Radical Democracy. His first term will be passed in consolidating his power and in preparations for his second term. No art will be left unpractised and no means unresorted to, for the purpose of accomplishing this end. The army will be enlarged, the navy will be increased, offices will be manufactured, and untold millions will be expended. If elected, and the South submit, *he will be re-elected, and dictatorial authority will then follow his fortune.* All the departments as well as powers of the government will yield to his command. The Supreme Court will be his subservient instrument, and Congress will be at his feet. And now the work of empire in principle, and reconstruction under republican forms, will begin; for to these mighty issues the daring of his mind has soared.

His first step will be to harmonize the whole system of menial labor with us, as near as may be done, with that of Europe, so as to avoid further European antagonism. In respect to negro slavery, he will proceed, through amendments to the Constitution, placing the entire subject in the hands of an obedient Congress, not in the line of *abolition*, but in the line of *emancipation and apprenticeship*, after the manner of Great Britain and France, without the follies committed in the beginning by those governments. The entire process will be as

simple as certain. Perverting that clause of the Constitution declaring that "private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation," a clause the abolitionists proper would deny, as bearing on the question of property in negro slaves, as they negate altogether such right of property, but which Sewardism readily admits and will apply to the case—Congress will declare the value of the slaves remaining to the South, and the government, through its agents, will take possession of them, transferring to itself the original right of property resident in their former owners. *Thus will emancipation be initiated.* But the negroes will now be told they belong to the government, having been bought for a price; and that after serving the government for ten years, to pay back their purchase money, they shall be free and equal. *Thus will the apprentice system be established.* And, to use the language of Black-republicanism, the odious terms of *slave* and *slavery*, not recognized in the Constitution, will be blotted out for ever from the page of our history, giving place to the milder expressions of *service* and *servitude*; and the national escutcheon will be redeemed from the foul stain our forefathers suffered to assail it under the pressure of necessity.

The effect of these movements upon the South, and the country at large, will be very different from those at first to be supposed. Negro labor will not be abandoned, but *intensified*; and the products of negro labor will not be diminished, but *increased*. Scarcely a ripple will be engendered on the even surface of industrial pursuits. Not a factory will be abandoned at the North, nor a ship thrown out of employment; neither will the shock to general society prove disastrous, *although the present race of planters will be destroyed and their children reduced to beggary.* The planters and their families, or all those directly and pecuniarily interested in negro slaves, will not exceed two millions, and it is doubtful if they will reach that number, as the tendency of present high prices is to concentrate the slaves, more and more, in the hands of the wealthy few. In the meanwhile the whole number of non-slaveholders, North and South, will have reached, at least, thirty millions, and the number of slaves may be extended to seven millions. The thirty millions of non-slaveholders, let it not be forgotten, will then be arrayed solidly together in the same line of policy and of action, with regard both to the two millions interested in slaves and the seven millions of slaves; and Seward, from the striking statistics associated with immediate and total abolition in Hayti, Guiana, and Jamaica, to be found in *Blackwood's Magazine* and *M'Culloch's Geographical*

Dictionary, will borrow a lesson of incalculable value to preserve him as a statesman from the inconsiderate and destructive blunders committed by Great Britain and France on the subject. He will proceed in his measures with far more judgment than did those governments, and at the same time, in a manner that will rivet to his support all classes, North and South, except the negroes and their limited number of former owners.

In the midst of the wild humanitarian furor and remorseless class revenges of the French revolution, Hayti was emancipated by act of the National Convention of France in 1794. Prior to this, in 1789, she exported in round numbers, forty-seven and a half millions of pounds of clayed sugar, ninety-three and a half millions of pounds of Muscovado sugar, seventy-seven millions of pounds of coffee, and seven millions of pounds of cotton. In 1841, she exported no clayed sugar, only one thousand three hundred and sixty-three pounds of Muscovado sugar, thirty-four millions of pounds of coffee, and one million and a half pounds of cotton.

Great Britain, after having tried in vain every experiment, in all quarters of the world, to render her manufacturing establishments independent of the United States for their supplies of raw material, finally, with that far-seeing sagacity that has for centuries characterized her administrative policy, in order to bring up the civilized nations to a standard of false sentiment, which should react upon the United States, exciting the humanitarianism of the North against the South, to end in disunion and the consequent destruction of the North, her greatest and most dangerous commercial and manufacturing rival, passed her act of emancipation in 1833, liberating the negroes in her colonies. At that time Guiana exported in round numbers, from seven hundred thousand to one million of pounds of sugar; from four to five millions of pounds of coffee; four hundred thousand hundred-weight of molasses; three millions of gallons of rum, and from three to five thousand bales of cotton. In 1848, these exports had been reduced to five hundred and forty-eight thousand pounds of sugar; sixty-three thousand pounds of coffee; one hundred and fifty-three thousand hundred-weight of molasses; less than two million gallons of rum, and no cotton. The facts as to Jamaica are similar. In 1833, Jamaica exported of sugar one million one hundred and forty-nine thousand hundred-weight; of coffee eleven millions one hundred and fifty-four thousand pounds; of rum two and a half millions of gallons; and of molasses one thousand hundred-weight. In 1849, she exported

only six hundred and thirty-four thousand hundred-weight of sugar ; three millions three hundred and thirty-nine thousand pounds of coffee ; one million seven hundred and seventy-nine thousand gallons of rum, and one hundred and two hundred-weight of molasses. In is stated in a report made by the Jamaica house of assembly, in 1848, that "six hundred and fifty-three sugar and four hundred and forty-six coffee plantations have been abandoned, and their works entirely broken up ; that the enfranchised negroes are incurably indolent and apathetic ; and that the probability is, were the whites withdrawn from the island, the negroes would relapse into their former barbarism." The Rome and Houston estates valued, as late as 1836, at one hundred thousand pounds sterling, were set down in 1844 at only forty thousand pounds ; and the great Haarlem estate, which, in 1836, was valued at fifty thousand pounds sterling, was estimated, in 1844, at only three thousand five hundred pounds. Estates that, in 1833, were bearing mortgages ranging from five thousand to thirty thousand pounds sterling, without feeling the weight of the incumbrance upon them, were sold for less than their original mortgages. History nowhere relates such utter prostration of industry and decline in property in so brief a period.

From these admonitory statistics Seward will elicit a two-fold answer for those of his party who would have him rush headlong into immediate and total abolition. First, the answer as to its utter destructiveness to the shipping and manufacturing interests of the North ; and second, the answer as to the mode they teach of robbing the Southern planters of their lands, and transferring their estates to Northern capitalists, afterward to be worked with the very negroes lately belonging to the planters, but now apprentices in the hands of the government. He will then turn to the statistics of the coolie trade as conducted by Great Britain and France, and read a lesson of *profit* to the Puritans of New-England, if they have not already foreseen it, that will convert every abolitionist ship-owner into a "slave-trade pirate," and firm adherent of his policy.

Let us, with more particularity, trace out his designs, and their inevitable result.

The government, in purchasing up the slaves of the South, will fix upon them its own average price, as Great Britain did. If this general average should be one hundred dollars per head, and more could scarcely be expected, the seven millions of slaves would stand the government seven hundred millions of dollars. True, this immense sum would not be more than one tenth, perhaps, of their current value. But what of that ? The

slaveholders will be powerless and the government omnipotent. So it was with Great Britain and her colonies. Nor will the government pay this sum in cash, but in government bonds bearing the usual legal interest, redeemable a century hence. To this day Great Britain has never paid, nor will she ever pay one cent of the principal of her emancipation fund. To meet the annual interest forty-two millions only would be necessary, an insignificant sum in its relation to the immense resources of the empire. The right to the slaves being thus transferred to the government, let us see what will be the immediate effects of the operation on the pecuniary condition of the planters. In a pecuniary point of view, the Southern planters are, for the most part, in a similar condition to the planters in the British colonies prior to the British act of emancipation. That is to say, almost every estate at the South now valued at two hundred thousand dollars, equally divided between lands and machinery on the one side, and negro slaves and live stock on the other side, is incumbered with a debt, by way of mortgage or otherwise, of at least twenty thousand dollars. The average price of one hundred dollars per head allowed by the government for the slaves, being only one tenth part of their real value, will reduce the one hundred thousand dollars of personal estate to ten thousand dollars; and as this sum would not be payable in cash, but only in government bonds bearing legal interest, and which could not be made available as cash except at a great sacrifice, the real sum derived to the planter for practical purposes would be simply the annual interest on ten thousand dollars, or an income of six hundred dollars per year. The indebtedness or incumbrances of the planter will now fall entirely on his real estate and machinery, and how will they be affected? The planter being alike unaccustomed to the apprentice system, and unwilling to hire as apprentices those whom he had owned as slaves, will be loath to engage from the agents of the government the requisite force for the cultivation of his lands and employment of his machinery. Least of all could he, grounded as he must necessarily be in the mild morals of the patriarchal system of slavery and labor subsisting at the South, reduce himself to countenance and practise a harsh code and procedure like that eliminated by Great Britain and France, from the *driving system of labor* associated with that worse than Egyptian bondage, the "apprentice system." His lands and machinery will thus be unavoidably and immediately, with the fact of emancipation, reduced in a similar ratio to his personal estate, and sold under the sheriff's hammer, as was the case in the British colonies. His estate of two hundred thousand

dollars, enabling him to live in affluence, and to educate his children in mental and physical refinement, will thus be curtailed to twenty thousand dollars, one half of which will be unavailable, leaving his indebtedness to swallow up his last dollar. Or if, perchance, he should be free from indebtedness, he will never consent to the new order of things, but will rather sell his lands and machinery for anything to be obtained for them, and fly from the graves of his ancestors to some unknown spot in the wilderness, where his sensibilities cannot be wounded. But whether his lands and machinery be sold out by the sheriff, or he shall voluntarily sell them, the end to him will still be the same. From wealth he will be reduced to want, and his children to beggary. His family will become dispersed; the places that once knew him will know him no more; and his memories, even, will perish, save as future ages may darkly divine them from the page of history.*

But Northern capitalists having no other ideas of negro slavery than those carefully propagated by the Abolitionists, and associated with brutality and the *driving system* of labor, will find no difficulty in the forum of their conscience, after buying up the plantations of the South under forced sales, in hiring the negro apprentices on the terms of the government—an arrangement easily effected in all its details—thereby intensifying negro labor, and stimulating an increased production of Southern staples through the *driving system*. These results will be the more certain as it will be clearly the policy of Seward to confine the negro apprentices to the soil, and to withhold from them the right of suffrage until they shall have wrought out their full redemption, through a service of ten years, thus surely conciliating the non-slaveholding masses of the South, by elevating mechanical pursuits above the condition of menial services. In this process of emancipation and apprenticeship where shall we find the loss of negro labor, or of a single pound of cotton, tobacco, rice, or sugar, at the South to the commerce and manufactures of the North?—

* The author has now in his possession a vial of laudanum, which he took from the oldest son of a former governor of the island of Barbadoes, in order to prevent him from committing suicide, by reason of the poverty to which he had been reduced by the British act of emancipation. His father was governor of the island of Barbadoes at the time the act of emancipation went into effect. At that time he was the wealthiest planter in the island. His estate was somewhat incumbered, but the incumbrance was not felt until emancipation. Then suddenly it swallowed up the whole estate, except a mere remnant. He died broken-hearted, and his son came to Philadelphia in search of employment. His little means failed before he succeeded, and with his last dime he determined to seek consolation in death. Being at the same boarding-house with him, I prevented the catastrophe, and got him sent back to Barbadoes through the aid of several kind-hearted merchants, who had traded with the island and knew his father well. This case directly illustrates the condition to which the planters of the South and their children will be reduced by Black-republicanism, after its designs shall have been fulfilled.

where shall we look for disaster to the general industry of the country? and where for a destructive shock to general society? In the language of Black-republicanism, "A mere class-interest of three hundred thousand, embracing, with their families, only two millions, will be simply removed or blotted out for the benefit of thirty millions, achieving the larger good for the largest number." True, another class-interest will immediately arise, based on the apprentice system of labor, enforcing seventeen hours of rigid toil per day, but what of that? This interest will be identified with the North, attached to a Northern born class, and conducted for the sole benefit of Northern born men and the North, *and without antagonistic political influence*. Northern planters will have been fully substituted for Southern planters, or, in other words, Northern *drivers* for Southern *patriarchs*. The property robbery of the South, in respect to both real and personal estate, will have been completed by these steps, and the whole dominion of abolitionism will be reconciled to all that shall be done and more that will follow. Nevertheless, "the South will still exist, and the Union will still exist;" but the South will be no longer the South of our fathers, nor the Union the Union of our fathers. THE SOUTH WILL HAVE BEEN ABSORBED BY THE NORTH IN THE UNION; AND THE UNION WILL HAVE PASSED FROM THE BANNER OF THE CONSTITUTION BENEATH THE EAGLE OF EMPIRE.

The next step in the terrible drama of sequences under consideration, will be the extinction of the adult male apprentices, before the period of their servitude shall have expired, through the *driving system* of labor imposed by their cruel and avaricious Northern task-masters, thus necessitating the reopening of the slave-trade, under the disguise of the apprentice trade, in Northern bottoms, for the benefit of Northern factors and ship-owners, and the enjoyment of the Northern robbers of the South. According to the opinion of the ablest physiologists the world has ever produced, no human constitution can survive the driving system of labor, as practised under the apprentice system of Great Britain and France, for a longer period than *seven years*. And yet, it is required of the apprentices, as a compensation to government for their redemption, final freedom, and ultimate political and social coequality, that they shall obey the behests of the government, and faithfully perform menial offices under this system for *ten years*. Their total destruction within the period of servitude follows inevitably. From the statistics of the coolie trade, and those of the apprentice system, as practised in the colonies of Great Britain and France, no doubt can be enter-

tained on this point. The report of Mr. Marcy as Secretary of State, made to the United States Senate in 1855 (Ex. Doc. No. 99), as to the first; and the debate in the British Parliament, led off by the Bishop of Oxford, in 1858, together with the official report made by the Commissioners of the West India Emigration to the home government, in 1856, as to the second, amply supply the matter of our text. The contract between the "Lanterns," or agents of the French government, and the African negroes, is almost identically the same with that made between the agents of the British government and the coolies of China and Hindostan. It appears that, in both instances, the traffic is conducted under government auspices, by government agents, in national vessels; and that these agents receive from eight to ten dollars for every able-bodied "emigrant" secured, while the planters pay for the same forty dollars per head to defray the expenses of government. The fairest prospects and most lucrative promises are held out to the natives. The climate of the colonies is represented to them as being healthy, congenial and delightful, and the employments expected of them such as they are accustomed to at home. An easy and comfortable voyage is assured, together with a prompt release and safe return to their native land at the expiration of their contracts. But with the characteristic treachery of the race of Jacob, in their dealings with the children of Esau, the "emigrant" is kept under these specious promises, profoundly ignorant of the real nature of his engagements until he is landed in the colony, where he is at once subjected to the "*local law*," *compelling him to work "at every description of servile labor, from half-past 4 o'clock, A. M., to half-past 9, P. M., a period of seventeen hours under the lash."* For this labor he receives a certain amount of food and clothing, and "*ten cents per day*, from which he is to defray all expenses incident to any illness, or accident *construed* to be the result of his own act, and for the return voyage to his native country at the termination of his contract." Under these circumstances he has no prospect of ever returning. He continues virtually a slave for life, without consideration on the part of his task-master, beyond the extent of his physical endurance. The difference between unlimited slavery and slavery for a term of years, consists in the infinitely greater cruelty of the latter system, where a tyrannical employer has no interest in the prolongation of the life of the slave, and where avarice itself is limited to the amount of labor that may be crushed out of him day by day to the end. Death, through mental oppression and physical toil, is certain before

the expiration of his term of servitude. It is a fact that none ever live either to return to their native land, or to be free in the colony. Out of twenty-two thousand imported into Jamaica and Trinidad, during the four years of 1845-'48, seventeen thousand perished in five years. The colonial planters, like the Northern Abolitionists, abhor the idea of liberated negro and coolie settlements in their neighborhood; and for any to return to Africa, China, or Hindostan, would endanger the traffic, through the horrors of the system they would narrate to the natives. It is the policy of the system that the apprentice shall be worked to death, and that policy is faithfully executed upon all. It is clear, therefore, that the emancipation of the Southern slaves, together with the establishment of the apprentice system among them, to continue for ten years, will operate to destroy, within that period, the adult males, rendering the reopening of the trade with Africa imperative, seducing every Abolitionist ship-owner, factor, and agent, in the New-England and Lake States, from allegiance to the faith of his present doctrines, into the warmest supporter of unadulterated Black-republicanism, and transferring him, as if by the enchanter's wand, into a "*slave-trade pirate*."

With these things, the first grand movement of Seward in the line of empire will be perfected; and his power will be consolidated through the removal, at one and the same time, of European and domestic antagonisms. Do you regard me as speaking from a warm imagination? Turn, then, I beseech you, to the melancholy forebodings of the "*Political Status*," written while yet the rejoicing shouts of thoughtless multitudes were echoing in senseless acclaims over our victory in 1856, and pronounce, are they not prophecies already passed into history? The serious matters there unfolded, with the hope of recalling the Democratic party to a true sense of its fealty and duty to the government and the country, were, for the most part, then regarded as creations of the fancy, but now they stand admitted as huge realities crushing the nation. Past Annals, the Times, Kansas, and Harper's Ferry, confirm my utterances. The story of puritanism, like that of agrarianism, is one of robbery. Here we have puritanism directing agrarianism. The two combined constitute Black-republicanism. The prayer of Cromwell has always been the prayer of the Puritan, and the Bible and rifle of Beecher have always been his insignia. Puritanism, in control of protestantism, during its limited career in Great Britain, subverted, seized upon, and appropriated the property rights of thirty thousand monasteries, convents, and hospitals, and introduced paupers and

poor-laws unknown before to *old English hospitality*. The Radical or Red-republican democracy of France, alike Infidel and Puritan, during their limited career, struck down all morals and property-rights in that nation. In the United States they have ruthlessly grasped the territories, and now uplift the red hand against the South. Property-robbery and political power, under the cant of humanitarianism and the wild cries of a visionary religion, always have been, are, and ever will be, the impelling motives of their conduct, whether the Protean shape assumed be that of the "Roundhead," the "Sans-culotte," "Red-republican," or "Black-republican." They may alter their name, but cannot change their substance. In whatever disguise, they seek to make a law unto themselves, bend God to their purposes, and demand the world to worship at their altar. Of this be sure, the elements of human action, as the elements of nature, being eternally the same, the future must be the child of the past.

This modern Cæsar, having thus passed the Rubicon of destiny, and, with his illustrated logic, marched to empire and dictatorial power, will next proceed, as the surest method of preserving his authority, to extend the resources and geographical limits of the government, until the nations shall stand, equally awed and astounded, before the might and majesty of his ambition, and yet feel compelled to yield their acquiescence, as by the steps pursued, he will have drawn the teeth of the British lion, and cut the spurs of the Gallic cock. He will now resolve to constitute the Gulf of Mexico an inland sea, or *mare clausum* of the empire, by compelling, first the surrender of Cuba, and afterward seizing upon Mexico, embracing Yucatan. Everything will invite to these acquisitions: their fair climes, their rich soils, their precious minerals, their products, which, combined with those already possessed, would supply a monopoly of three out of the four great staples of the world, commanding the commerce of the world. They hold the great ocean routes, and land-lock the Gulf of Mexico, thereby, at one and the same time, securing our gates of entrance, against the armed fleets of the world, and controlling the mercantile marine of the world; and, added to the United States, would round off an empire, vaster, more grand, and mightier than that of Rome, in Rome's proudest day. The social and domestic system of Cuba, resting on negro slave labor and that of coolie apprenticeship, and *both subject to the driving system*, would be found, perhaps, without more ado, sufficiently assimilated to the new order of things at the South, while the larger bulk of the population of Mexico

being constituted of "*peons*," peon services would admit of an easy transition to apprentice servitude, thus rendering an agreement, in these respects, throughout the whole. By such considerations as these, in the line of history and statesmanship, he will be actuated to the measure. But others, associated with his private policy, will operate upon his councils with no less force. The paucity of the dominant class, in both Cuba and Mexico, will leave scope and verge enough for his agrarian legions of the North, while the necessity existing in the one, would, necessarily arise in the other, as, under the new system of the South, for an unceasing and unlimited supply of African and Chinese apprentices, for the benefit of Northern shippers and Abolitionists, in conduct of the trade. At the same time that to conquer and hold Mexico, as a dependency, with her states as provinces, under pro-consular governments, will place in his hands an immense patronage, to be bestowed upon his favorites, and give form and dignity to the empire, assimilating it to that of the Cæsars.

These grand designs of Black-republicanism having been wrought; Seward having been elected and re-elected President; the Constitution having been amended and subverted; the government having been changed from a representative republic into a republican empire, with dictatorial power, in the hands of the nominal President; the union of all the non-slaveholding classes, North and South, against the slaveholders, having been achieved; the patriarchal system of slavery having been abolished, and the apprentice system, with its more intensified labor, having been established; the South having been absorbed by the North, in the Union; the planters and their children driven out and beggared, and their rights and estates become a prey to Northern men; the slave-trade, under the disguise of the apprentice trade, having been re-opened, under the conduct of Northern shippers and Abolitionists; Cuba having been acquired, and Mexico conquered, securing the great ocean routes, the Gulf as an inland sea, and three out of the four great staples; the social and domestic system in Cuba and Mexico, through Africans, coolies, and peons, having been made to conform with the new order of things at the South, so as to generate harmony in the whole; and the rich lands of Mexico, having been surrendered to the agrarian legions of the north; the time will now have arrived, when the puritan influences of the North, in control of the political forces of the empire, will issue their ukase, hitherto suppressed, in view of the annexation of Cuba and Mexico, so that when uttered, it should be the more sweeping and effectual; that, *the*

whole American system must be made a unit, socially, as well as politically; that they, too, must have a subject and disfranchised class; and that, as their climate admits of neither Africans, coolies nor peons, NATURALIZED CITIZENS MUST BE HELOTIZED AS FOREIGNERS, AND CATHOLICS DISFRANCHISED, AS OPPOSED TO THE ORDER OF THINGS.

When we recur to the essential principles of Black-republicanism, apart, even, from the question of uniformity here presented, or of other considerations to be presented hereafter, can it be said we are left to mere conjecture as to the final revival of the fell spirit of *Know-Nothingism* by this party, and in a shape as monstrous and terrible as that represented in the Apocalypse, of Death on the Pale Horse, breathing out destruction, and scattering around remorseless passions? Puritanism! Americanism! Abolitionism! Agrarianism! these are the four fundamental elements of the Black-republican organization, and so long as that organization remains a political power, these elements must vitalize and direct its motions. Each distinctively recognizes in the principles of Catholicity its own antagonism. Puritan iconoclasm finds its most stalwart foe in Catholic conservatism. Americanism, based on the one idea of nativism or political selfishism, is met face to face by Catholic universalism, covering the rights and interests of all under the Constitution. Abolitionism, negating government and condemning authority, vents its wrath against the body of Catholicity, interposed in protection of government, and proclaiming the doctrine of "obedience to the powers that be." And agrarianism, that with sacrilegious hands would disrupt all property rights, writhes throughout its horrid length like a struck serpent, beneath the anathemas of the Catholic Church, hurled against the "*envious*," the "*Thief*," and the "*Robber*." Now combined in one common cause, and attained to power, while the opportunity is at hand to strike the Catholic, and the naturalized citizen, because he is, as a general rule, a Catholic, will the blow be spared? Under similar circumstances when was their hand ever stayed? Not in England during the period of the "Roundhead," nor in France during the Revolution of 1789-'90. As well might the ravening vulture be expected to yield up its prey, as to doubt that Black-republicanism will ultimately degrade the naturalized citizen, and stamp the heel on Romanism.

But there are other motives of hostility toward naturalized citizens and Catholics, which will lead to this war against them. In all the past political contests between the North and the South over the principles of the Constitution, whether as affect-

ing the territories or otherwise, they have always sided with the position of the South as the position of the Constitution and the part of justice. In presidential elections they have invariably sustained the Southern candidate, whether selected from the South or from the North, accepting defeat or marching to victory under his banner. And what renders this fact the more remarkable is, that in many instances the candidate so selected was of a religious persuasion entertaining the bitterest prejudices against their own convictions. In this way they sustained Andrew Jackson, though a Presbyterian; James K. Polk, though a Presbyterian; Franklin Pierce, though a Presbyterian; and James Buchanan, though a Presbyterian. In this way they accepted defeat with Martin Van Buren and Lewis Cass. *At this moment, if, through the sectional triumph of William H. Seward, in 1860, disunion should be forced upon the South, as the only escape from the disastrous sequences herein detailed, and civil war should follow, they would rush spontaneously by thousands and hundreds of thousands beneath the flag of the South, raised by themselves in the North, and hurl the tide of war back upon New-England and the Lakes, not only through a sense of right and natural affiliation with the South, from whom emanated religious liberty, but through the policy of preserving the integrity of Mexico and Cuba from the Vandalism of Black-republicanism.* But Seward elected, and the South submitting, and events progressing to their consummation, it is evident that all these considerations will enter into the feelings and passions of those who, by obliterating the Constitution and trampling upon the South, shall have reached empire, intensifying hatred toward them, and instigating to revenge. The Constitution and the South having been struck down, it will be deemed meet their allies shall be made to bite the dust. The wrath toward them will be implacable, and the result inevitable—a firm, resolute and remorseless effort on the part of the religious sectaries, through their political affiliations, to degrade the naturalized citizen, and exterminate Catholicity. The age will be cast back two centuries; a religious war will arise in the land, and rivers of blood flow. But regarding the elements of strength engaged in the contest, the naturalized citizen will be forced to submission, and the Church be brought low, leaving not a vestige of conservatism resident either in American politics or American society. *The empire will stand without a Constitution of government, a patriarchal institution, or a single vital principle of subordination—a political and social monster, compelling order through force alone; an anomaly*

*among the nations of modern times, having its parallel alone in Rome under Tiberius and his successors, with the consular and tribunitian powers united in their person as Emperor, and like that government, filled for a time with terrible energies, but finally to perish through its own crimes and excesses, sweeping society along with itself into the bestial sins of eternal perdition.**

To illustrate the end is forbid my pen. Through shame and modesty it falls from my grasp. But would you have the picture I refer you to, "*The Moral and Social Status*," published in your REVIEW in March, 1857, to the Annals of Tacitus, and to the story of the Cities of the Plain!!!

"PYTHON."

December 9, 1859.

ART. II.—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL AND HIS WRITINGS.

NEARLY thirty years ago, Mr. Thomas Carlyle, with a self-complacency quite characteristic of himself, and of his nation, announced, in the pages of an English Review, that Americans were not a poetical people. As he was then profoundly ignorant of the literature and literary men of the South, it is fair to presume that he intended only to embrace within the range of this sweeping conclusion, that portion of the people of this country who hybernate amid the snows of the North; a people, who, with all their affectation of superior intelligence, and of ability to direct public sentiment at home and abroad, have hearts as icy as the air they breathe, and as narrow as the strips of ground on which they farm and build and thrive and grow impertinent. Beyond cavil, New-England once had, and still has, among her mountains and valleys, many wise, sagacious, industrious and honest citizens—men who fear God and love the state; but if, since the landing of the May-Flower at

* The precise sentiments of the American Black-republican emancipation party toward naturalized citizens and Catholics, and the reasons for those sentiments, may be found in the Annual Message of Governor Gardner of Massachusetts, delivered to the Legislature of that State, January 9th, 1867. Speaking of the last presidential election, he says: "So far as that election is final, our citizens have the bitter assurance of knowing, that that decision has been made, that action fixed, and that step taken by 'the casting votes of aliens born, aliens unnaturalized, and aliens entirely ignorant of our institutions, and callous to the vast interests involved in the stupendous issue.' While this horde of foreign-born voters have thus stricken down a noble cause, which appealed to the moral sentiment and enlightened patriotism of our country [meaning the abolition of slavery], it only affords another confirmation of a fact which our whole history establishes, that the foreign vote, with hardly an exception, always has been, and in the nature of things always must and will be, attracted to the Democratic party, and always practically coöperate with slavery at the South."

He goes on to say, "There is but one remedy and barrier to this steady and increasing power against the movements of New-England sentiment—morality and education diffused through the great West in behalf of freedom, humanity, and the nobler spirit of the country [meaning Abolitionism], and that is to deprive naturalized citizens of the right of suffrage for twenty-one years."

Plymouth Rock, up to the remark of Mr. Carlyle, she has warmed into being, a single *poet*, his name and his fame have escaped our recollection. What in our judgment was true at that time, is equally and essentially true to the present hour. There were then, and there are now, rhymers and versifiers and scribblers in abundance: then, as now, there were critics to commend, newspapers to puff, and a gaping crowd eager to buy and to read; yet the genius, the sentiment, the passion, the imagination, the purity and breadth of heart and mind, which illumine every line of poetry in its high sense, are among the unattained and we fear unattainable realities of the future. This opinion is expressed deliberately and in defiance of those *hired* laudations which undertake to form the public judgment in this country, and of those few faint notes of praise which occasionally float from the other side of the Atlantic. We are willing to admit, that the names of some American poets, at long intervals, have been found on the catalogues of English booksellers; that they have been honored with cold notices now and then in some English Reviews; and that they have been gratified to learn that their ill-omened croakings against the institutions under which they were born, have been echoed back in triumph by those English propagandists who throng the precincts of Exeter Hall. But these incentives to inspiration and stimulants to a vanity already morbid, have been utterly ineffectual. The stubborn and lamentable fact remains, that New-England continues destitute both of a poet and of poetry. It is worthy of an inquiry into the causes, how, and why, so little has been achieved, when so much has been attempted. They may lie in that sterile soil and ungenial sky, so familiar to every son of that inhospitable clime: or in that pharisaical self-gratulation which chuckles at its own perfections and sees nothing to commend in others; or, in that inherited puritanism which turns up its pious eyes in horror at all secular learning and accomplishment: or in that hard grasping and selfish nature, which distinguishes the genuine Yankee from the rest of his species, as distinctly as if he were an *orang-outang*, or a South Sea Islander; or in that licentiousness of taste and manners which degrades one portion of Northern society by its pretensions, and another by its pollutions; or what is more probable still, in the prevalence of a blind and reckless fanaticism, which when it once usurps a place in the human bosom, strangles every noble and generous impulse. Such fanaticism as theirs, is of no ordinary kind; cherished alone by ignorant zealots—kindled into excitement only upon rare occasions, and soon ex-

tinguished by the intensity of its own flames; it is of that deeper and more dangerous dye, which is appalled at no injustice, which ever accompanies despotism, which unfailingly tramples liberty in the dust, and which in all ages and in all countries, has been the parent of infidelity. Nothing is too low to minister to its designs, too exalted to awe its insolence, or too sacred to escape its assaults; and as if to exhibit its own hypocrisy upon the grandest scale, while one hand is raised to implore mercy upon the slaveholder, the other is eagerly clutching at his property. We should be false to our convictions were we to declare that this fanaticism is confined to a few. Recent demonstrations, if others were wanting, on the hallowed soil of Virginia, as well as the wailings and the threats which have followed the Harper's Ferry conspirators to the tomb, prove conclusively, that it is deeply seated; that it is widely spread, and glows as fiercely at the fireside and the altar, as it does on the hustings or the forum, or the field of blood.

While this dark fanaticism has been exercising its baneful influences upon the mind, the morality, the social position, and the political relations of the North, it has engendered a sickly energy and activity in the stupid brains of some men and women, who, taking advantage of the ambition, prejudices, and ignorance of sects and parties, have been enabled to emerge from the twilight into the open sunshine. Following literature as a pursuit, these "poor insects of a summer's day," have made it the study of their lives to malign the South; to denounce in every possible way its institutions, and to deride its material advancement, its intellectual wealth, its polity and its people. By appealing to the worst passions of the worst people, some of them have reached an unenviable notoriety; others have earned their daily bread; while another, and perhaps a larger class, have slunk away into an obscurity so deep, that no friendly sexton will find them when they die. These pedlars of false ideas—these panderers to the lowest instincts of erring nature—these harlequins who attune their notes to any song for a drink of their own ineffably mean *rum*—these Swiss soldiers of literature who will write upon any subject for pay—these literary musketoes, whose buzzing is more dreadful than their stings—are not confined to the columns of partisan or sectarian newspapers; nor to journalism in its broader sense; nor are they the mean froth and scum of society which the rising wave has thrown upon the surface. They are to be found in all the walks of life and pervade every variety of composition. They belch forth their venom against the South

from the pulpit—from the bench—on the hustings—in the halls of Congress—in the social circle, and in the wilderness. Even the worn artisan, half-fed as he is, and the wearied girl at the factory loom, ignorantly, heedlessly, hopelessly, join in the same cry, and swell the current of opposition to an institution and a people who support them, as well as their imperious task-masters.

Since the great epics have ceased to be among the achievements of the human intellect, poetry has assumed in the main, one of two forms—either the patriotic or the sentimental. Under these capacious heads it has been, or may be, made to illustrate events, to delineate characters, to portray passion, to arouse emotion, excite action or awaken remembrance. It remained for unpoetical New-England to invent a poetry which is the antipodes of these, and which may be termed the *libellous*. It seems to have a single aim—to wound, to weaken, to vilify, to degrade and destroy the institutions and the prosperity and the national influence of the South. It revels in the theme of negro-slavery. Ballads and songs and satires, and even the drama, are redolent with their chants against a system of servitude which is better than their own; which they have been actively instrumental in introducing, and which they only abandoned when it ceased to be profitable. The motives which prompt these libels are bad enough—the depraved appetite which gulps them down with such greed is still worse; but the climax of meanness may be easily found in the poetry itself: its utter destitution of truth, its pointless allusions, its vulgar assumptions, its mockery of sacred things, and its ribald style, which has neither the charm of novelty, the force of originality, the sincerity of honesty, nor the virtue of a sound morality. Such productions could only emanate from a race of starvelings, stipendiaries, and hucksters, and could only be applauded by readers who are more degraded than the authors.

Prominent among this class, is James Russell Lowell, who has filled, of late, a large space in the annals of Northern poetry. His poems have passed through several editions; and he has become, in his own estimation, one of the magnates of the land. Perhaps it were a charity to forgive his vanity, for he has been petted with the prettiest of phrases; he has been applauded by the smoothest of hands; he has been received by the blandest of critics; he has been encouraged by the sweetest of smiles; and, more acceptable still to him, he has been rewarded by a shower of dimes. This Mr. Lowell, who has been thus commended and caressed, is a citizen of the

Old Bay State, and is of that pilgrim stock which enslaved alike the negro, the Indian, and the white man, and would do the same now, if their pockets could be filled. He is also a lawyer without a client; a politician without political principles; a poet without a heart; a pedant whose attainments are ridiculous; a satirist who never saw a point, a humorist who has never attained to the dignity of a witticism. Living, as he does, under the shadow of Bunker Hill, with its noble monument meeting his daily vision—with its history full of patriotism—with its associations full of poetry—with the names of Warren and of Webster shining in undying beauty upon every tree and rock, and hill and stream around him—it is a marvel and a mystery, a shame and a scandal, that no elevated thought, no genial sentiment, ever lighted up his brain nor warmed his heart.

If any one, who is disposed to be candid, and who has leisure to spend a few hours unprofitably, should deem these strictures too harsh, let him turn to the miserable balderdash, which is to be found at random in these poems, but particularly to those portions which were intended to insult, to misrepresent, and to humiliate the Southern people. We have space only for a few specimens. The first is from what the author calls the BIGLOW PAPERS, and is written in the true Yankee lingo:

"Aint it cute to see a Yankee,
Take such everlastin' pains,
All to git the devil's thankee
Hel'p in' them to weld their chains?
Why, it's jest ez clear ez figgers,
Clear ez one an' one make two,
Chaps that make black slaves o' niggers
Want to make wite slaves o' you.

"Taint by turnin' out the haek folks
You're agoin' to git your right.
Nor by looking down on black folks,
Coz you're put upon by wite;
Slavery aint o' nary color—
Taint the hide that makes it wus,
All it keers for in a feller
'S jest to make him fill its puss.

"Ef I'd my way I hed rather
We should go to work an' part,
They take one way, we take t'other,
Guess it wouldn't break my heart;
Man hed ought'o put asunder
Them that God has noways jined—
An' I shouldn't greatly wonder
Ef there's thousands of my mind."

Our second extract purports to detail an interview between the ghost of Miles Standish and the author. The old Puritan is quite indignant at the degeneracy of the pilgrim race, and is particularly wrathful at the annexation of Texas. The modest Lowell interposes thus :

"Good sir," I said, "you seem much stirred,
The sacred compromises—"

(MILES interrupt-

ing)—"Now God confound the dastard word!
My gall thereat arises;
Northward it hath this sense alone,
That you your conscience blinding,
Shall bow your fool's nose to the stone
When slavery feels like grinding.

"'Tis shame to see such painted sticks
In Vane and Winthrop's places,
To see your spirit of Seventy-six
Drag humbly in the traces,
With slavery's lash upon her back,
And herds of office-holders
To shout applause, as with a crack
It peels her patient shoulders."

This bad temper of the ghost, however, is a mere passing zephyr, compared to the tempest which rises in the heart of Mr. Lowell, "ON THE CAPTURE OF CERTAIN FUGITIVE SLAVES NEAR WASHINGTON." He thus gives vent to his outraged feelings :

"Are we pledged to craven silence? Oh, fling it to the wind!
The parchment wall that bears us from the least of human kind—
That makes us cringe and temporize and doubly stand at rest,
While Pity's burning flood of words is red-hot in the breast.

"Though we break our fathers' promise, we have nobler duties first,
The traitor to humanity is the traitor most accursed;
Man is more than constitutions; better rot beneath the sod,
Than be true to Church and State, while we are doubly false to God.

"We owe our allegiance to the State, but deeper, truer more
To the sympathies that God hath set within our spirit's core;
Our country claims our fealty; we grant it so, but then
Before man made us citizens great Nature made us men."

But enough. These passages will suffice to exhibit the tone of his mind and the objects he seeks to accomplish. If ever a bad heart and a poverty-stricken genius conspired to inflict injury on the unoffending, it has been attempted in these volumes. But his anathemas have fallen on the innocent objects of his malignity, as innocuously as frosts upon the snow-clad lawns of his native "Elmswood." They have not even provoked a smile of merited scorn and contempt; nor would

they deserve or receive a notice from us, had not his bold, bad sentiments found an echo in the bosoms of a powerful, an aggressive, and an increasing political party, which is of resolute purpose and of dangerous tendency—a party which has declared that an irrepressible conflict exists in this country, between what is termed, the free labor of the North and the slave labor of the South. This ominous declaration, so inconsistent with the views of our ancestors, who formed the Federal Constitution, and so utterly subversive of the Union, as at present existing, makes it the imperative duty of Southern journalists and of patriots everywhere, to take a close observance of what is passing, both in literature and politics. At the North they are very intimately united; and have combined, with other powerful elements, to overthrow the institution of slavery. This important truth gains slowly upon the minds of the quiet citizens of the South; but when they are convinced, we doubt not, they will be prompt in resistance, determined in purpose, fruitful in resources, rich in examples, and glorious in action. "If coming events cast their shadows before," the end is not yet.

ART. III.—"SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY."

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE TERRITORIES A FALLACY.

[THE writer of the present able paper, Hon. A. F. Hopkins of Mobile, is the author of the article which appeared in the July number of the REVIEW for 1849, entitled "Slavery in the New Territories."—Ed.]

HAS Congress constitutional power to prohibit slaveholders from taking their slaves and holding them in the territories of the United States? The decision of this question depends greatly upon the character in which the federal government acquired and holds the territories. The Supreme Court of the United States decided in the Dred Scott case that the general government has power under the Constitution to acquire territory as representative and trustee of the people of the United States; that the territory obtained from France, in 1803, was so acquired, and that it was the duty of the federal government to hold it as trustee for the equal and common benefit of "the people of the several States, until it was settled and inhabited and in a condition to be admitted as a member of the Union. (19 *Howard's Rep.*, 448.) For it was "the people of the several States acting through their agent and representative, the federal government, who in fact acquired the territory in question, and the government holds it for their common use until it shall be associated with the other

States as a member of the Union. But until that time arrives, it is undoubtedly necessary that some government should be established in order to organize society, and to protect the inhabitants in their persons and property; and as the people of the United States could act in this matter only through the government which represented them, and through which they spoke and acted when the territory was obtained, it was not only in the scope of its powers, but it was its duty to pass such laws and establish such a government as would enable those by whose authority they acted to reap the advantages anticipated from its acquisition, and to gather there a population which would enable it to assume the position to which it was destined among the States of the Union."

The people therefore of the several States are the equitable owners of the territories, which are acquired by the federal government as their agent merely. If the territory be purchased, the purchase money is paid from the common treasury to which the people of all the States have contributed. Hence, the obligation upon the federal government to hold the territories as a trustee for the common and *equal* benefit of the people of the United States. The duties of the federal government, while it holds the territories, are clearly implied from its character of trustee, and they are such as an individual trustee of many beneficiaries in real estates would be bound to discharge. The trustee of each class has the legal right to perform his duties. The first of these duties is impartiality in the distribution of the benefits of the trust among the beneficiaries. Possession of the land in the territory is a valuable part of the interest included in the trust. Any citizen of the United States has been permitted by the general government for many years to take possession of any unoccupied public land, and appropriate to his own use all the benefits he can derive from the possession. His occupancy gives him a right of possession against all but the government. The government derives no right from any source which authorizes it to exclude any of the moveable property of a joint proprietor from this common estate, or to withhold from moveable property of one description any protection which it affords to other kinds. There would be no pretext for the trustee of a large and undivided real estate, lying in a State, the laws of which recognized property in slaves, to prohibit the settlement upon it of slaves which belong to some of the beneficiaries, while he permitted the others who owned no slaves, to bring upon the estate all the moveable property which belonged to them. Such conduct would be gross partiality—a breach of

trust for which a court of equity would remove such a trustee. If an inhabitant of a territory claim there property in slaves, he can establish as perfect a right to the property, by competent proof, that they were slaves according to the laws of the State from which he migrated, or in which he acquired them, as any claimant can show to moveable property of any other description. There is no power either in Congress or a territorial government to make a distinction between property of different kinds within the limits of a territorial government—to afford protection to one kind and to withhold it from another, or to proscribe any. The fact that the general government is a trustee of the territory for all the people of each of the States, subjects her to all the duties and liabilities of a trustee, and entitles the people to equal benefits in the trust. The federal government must continue to hold the territory in the character in which she acquired it—as trustee for the common use of the people—until a State may be founded on the territory and admitted into the Union. The trust is in the general government till the territory shall become a State of the Union, and till then, the possession of the public lands is open to all, if to any of the people. The occupancy of unsold land in a territory is worth much more to many persons than their proportional interest, as beneficiaries in the whole proceeds of the sales of all the public lands in the territory where they settle, and the profits they make on their purchases of such lands.

The territories have been acquired with the means derived from the Treasury of the United States. The source from which the payments are made for these acquisitions show that the general government was required, upon the principles of equity and justice, to hold them as a trustee for the *equal* benefit of all the people of each of the States. While one beneficiary is allowed to take the benefit which may be derived from the occupancy of a part of the lands, without paying any price for the privilege, every other citizen of the United States is constitutionally entitled to a similar privilege, in relation to lands not included in the prior settlements of others. To render such a privilege valuable, labor must be employed to clear and cultivate the land occupied, to build houses for the accommodation of the settlers, mills to furnish materials for bread, and timber for building. The extent of improvements must depend upon the ability of the settlers, and will generally be large or small according to the wealth or poverty of the persons who make them. The constitutional right of the people of the slaveholding States is as perfect to purchase slaves, and consequently the right to the labor they

can perform, as it is for the people of the free States to hire the labor of white or free black persons for the time for which the parties to such contracts may agree. A citizen of a free State migrates and settles on public land, in a territory with free laborers, the aggregate amount of the hires which he pays for them being five thousand dollars. His neighbor is a slaveholder, and the amount of legal interest on the cost of his slaves is five thousand dollars. The title to the slaves is as valid, according to the Federal Constitution, as the right of the free State man is to the labor of his hirelings. If beneficiaries in this great trust from the free States be allowed to settle upon the land and employ their free laborers in digging and obtaining the treasures of the earth, found in rich gold mines existing in some of the territories—the common property of all the people of every State—upon what other principle than one an honest man should blush to avow, can slaveholders be prevented from employing their capital in their slaves, in the same pursuit, and sharing the benefits to be derived from working the common estate. A case occurred once in Brazil, we believe, in which very rich gold mines were exhausted in ten or fifteen years—became so poor that they ceased to afford any adequate compensation for the labor of working them. If mines of such temporary value should, as they may, be found in the territories, and slaves could be excluded from these, it would present a case of monstrous injustice, where the beneficiaries from the free States had monopolized the principal value, it might be of the common estate in the territory, and certainly all the advantages, while it continued to be a territory of the United States.

The exclusion of the wealth that consists in slaves from a territory, tends to secure its richest treasures to the wealthy beneficiaries of the free States, and to secure it too upon the cheapest terms, by preventing competition between the capital of slaveholders and that of the large owners of hired labor, and thus cheapening the price of the labor of the latter kind. A construction of the Constitution that would authorize a discrimination against property in slaves, offers a strong temptation to both the ambitious and avaricious to support it—to the former, in the prospect it affords of the augmentation of the political power of the free States, by increasing their number—to the latter, in the promise it holds out of a monopoly of most of the benefits of the common property in the territories.

No one has yet claimed power for Congress to divest the people of the slaveholding States of their character of bene-

ficiaries of the fund in the common treasury of the United States, and release the federal government from its duties as a trustee for them as well as the people of the other States. Why not discharge the government from its duty as a trustee in the latter case? Its release from its obligations as a trustee for all the people of the United States of the common property in the territories, would be a good precedent for its release from the other trust—particularly if the fund in the treasury consisted at any time of the proceeds only of the sales of the public lands. The court said, in the Dred Scott case, that, until the time arrived when a territory should be associated with the other States as a member of the Union, it is, undoubtedly, necessary that some government should be established, in order to organize society and to protect the inhabitants in their persons and *property*; and as the people of the United States could act in this matter only through the government which represented them, and through which they spoke and acted when the territory was obtained, it was not only within the scope of its powers, but it was its duty to pass such laws and establish such a government as would enable those by whose authority they acted to reap the advantages anticipated from its acquisition, and to gather there a population, which would enable it to assume the position to which it was destined among the States of the Union. The federal government acquired the territories as the representative, and holds it as trustee for the equal and common benefit of the people of the United States—of the people of every State. Before the establishment of a territorial government, people settle on the public lands, taking with them moveable property (including slaves) of nearly every description, and hold it all as they held it in the States from which they migrated. It seems from our last extract from the opinion of the court, that one object for the establishment of a territorial government is to protect the inhabitants in their persons and *property*—of all the inhabitants. What property did the court mean and intend should be protected by a territorial government? Surely all the property—in slaves as in everything else in which property may be had. For the court decided, "The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution." "And if the Constitution recognizes the right of property of the master in a slave, and make no distinction between that description of property and other property owned by a citizen, no tribunal acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive, or judicial, has a right to draw such a distinction, or to deny to it the benefit of the

provisions and guarantees which have been provided for the protection of private property against the encroachments of the government." Can this plain language be misunderstood? If it mean what it seems to mean, it is the duty of a territorial government to protect all the property of all the inhabitants within its limits. The legislature of the territory is, in the language of the court, "a tribunal acting under the authority of the United States," and has no right to draw a distinction between property in slaves and other property owned by a citizen, because the Constitution makes none. It being the duty of a territorial government, according to the opinion of the Supreme Court, to protect all the property of the inhabitants—in slaves as well as in everything else—the inconsistent right claimed by some for the legislature cannot exist. It has no power to pass laws unfavorable to the removal of slaves into the territory, by a system of unequal taxation or otherwise—no power to create an obstacle to the settlement of slaves there, and none to withhold remedies for the recovery of slaves withheld from their owners, or damages for injuries to them. The effect of such legislation would be to make a distinction between property in slaves and other property, as we cannot presume such legislation would be applied to other property; if it were, one important object of the creation of the territorial government, to protect the inhabitants in their property, would be defeated. The following are important extracts from the opinion of the court by which the Dred Scott case was decided. They are taken from pages 450, 451, of *Howard's Rep.*, vol. xix.: "No one, we presume, will contend that Congress can make any law in a territory respecting the establishment of religion, or the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people of the territory peaceably to assemble and petition the government for the redress of grievances." "Nor can Congress deny to the people the right to keep and bear arms, nor the right to trial by jury, nor compel any one to be a witness against himself in a criminal proceeding."

In the September number, 1859, of *Harpers' Magazine*, page 530, Judge Douglas, in his paper on popular sovereignty, quotes the two foregoing paragraphs, and adds at the end of the last of the two that which is the fourth paragraph in these extracts, as if it were a continuation of the second extract, omitting entirely the third paragraph of these extracts. After the addition to which I refer, commencing after the words "criminal proceeding," in the second paragraph he adds the fourth paragraph, "So too, it will hardly be contended that

Congress could by law quarter a soldier in a house in a territory without the consent of the owners in a time of peace, nor in war, but in a manner prescribed by law. Nor could they by law forfeit the property of a citizen in a territory, who was convicted of treason, for a longer period than the life of the person convicted, nor take private property for public use without just compensation."

The following is the third paragraph in the part of the opinion from which these extracts are made, and is wholly omitted in the paper of Judge Douglas: "These powers and others in relation to the rights of persons, which it is not necessary to enumerate, are in express and positive terms denied to the general government; and the *rights of private property have been guarded with equal care*. Thus the rights of property are united with the *rights* of persons and placed *on the same ground* by the fifth amendment to the Constitution, which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty and *property* without due process of law. And an act of Congress which deprives a citizen of the United States of his liberty or property, merely because he came himself or *brought his property* into a territory of the United States, and who had committed no offence against the laws, could hardly be dignified with the name of due process of law."

The property to which the court referred in this extract was, we think, the slave Dred Scott, who had been taken by his master, Dr. Emmerson, in 1834, into the territory of upper Louisiana acquired by the United States of France, and situate north of the latitude of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes north, and north of the State of Missouri, where the Missouri Compromise then prohibited slavery, and the obvious meaning of the court saying in effect, that an act of Congress which deprives a citizen of the United States of his property, merely because he brought his property into a territory of the United States, could not be considered as due process of law, is that such an act of Congress is void. The territory referred to by the court means, we think, the territory of upper Louisiana, and the property, Dred Scott.

The court said, in the next paragraph of the opinion, "The powers over person and *property of which we speak*, are not only not granted to Congress, but are in express terms denied, and they are forbidden to exercise them. And this prohibition is not confined to the States, but the words are general, and extend to the whole territory over which the Constitution gives it power to legislate, including those portions of it remaining under territorial governments as well as that covered by States.

It is a total absence of power everywhere within the dominion of the United States, and places the citizens of a territory, so far as their rights are concerned, on the same footing with citizens of the States, and guards them as firmly and plainly against inroads which the general government might attempt under the plea of implied or incidental powers. And if Congress cannot do this—if it is beyond the powers conferred on the federal government—it will be admitted, we presume, that it could not authorize a territorial government to exercise them. It could confer no power on any local government established by its authority to violate the provisions of the Constitution."

The territory (the court said) "being a part of the United States, the government and the citizen both enter it under the authority of the Constitution with their respective rights defined and marked out; and the federal government can exercise no power over his person or property beyond what that instrument confers, nor lawfully deny any right which it has reserved." To illustrate this proposition, the court referred to and stated the provisions of the Constitution mentioned in the foregoing extracts from the opinion.

Most of the rights enumerated in the extracts, are rights of persons, and no one denies that the court decided that the powers mentioned by it over these, "are in express and positive terms denied to the general government." But the court added: "And the rights of private property have been guarded with equal care. Thus the rights of property are united with the rights of persons and placed *on the same ground* by the fifth amendment to the Constitution, which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, and property, without due process of law."

This amendment, in the opinion of the court, contains, in effect, a joint security for the equal protection of the rights of property and of persons. Before the adoption of the fifth amendment, the Constitution had denied power to the federal government over the rights of persons mentioned by the court, and that amendment exempted the rights of property of which the court spoke, from the power of the general government, by forbidding the government to exercise it. The rights of property and the rights of persons being united by the fifth amendment to the Constitution, have the same security which consists in the denial over them of the powers of the general government. One ground upon which Dred Scott claimed his freedom, was that his master had taken and held him as a slave in the territory we have already mentioned, where slavery had been and was prohibited by an act of Congress. We have no

reason to believe that Mr. Douglas omitted, in his quotation from the opinion, the part which we have shown he left out, from his conviction that the insertion of it would change the legal effect of the parts of the opinion which he did quote. Thinking as we do, that the omitted part is adverse to his understanding of the opinion, and favorable to our own, we have directed attention to the part he omitted. What the court said in relation to an act of Congress which deprives a citizen of the United States of his liberty or property, merely because he came himself or brought his property into a particular territory of the United States, shows that the rights of property could not be affected by the prohibitory act.

The court concluded its opinion upon this part of the case in the following words: "It is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind, in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void, and that neither Dred Scott himself, nor any of his family, were made free by being carried into this territory; even if they had been carried there by the owner with the intention of becoming a permanent resident." This is an authoritative decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, that Congress has no power to prohibit a citizen from holding and owning property in slaves in a territory of the United States. The court decided also, that a territorial government had no power to do what Congress for the want of power was incapable of doing. That as the Constitution recognizes the right of property of the master in a slave, and makes no distinction between that description of property and other property owned by a citizen, therefore no tribunal acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive, or judicial, has a right to draw such a distinction. It cannot be reasonably denied that the legislature of a territory acts under the authority of the United States, and can claim a warrant for its acts in no other source. The territory was organized by an act of Congress, and its government was created by the authority of the United States, exercised by the passage of the act of Congress which established the territorial government. The Supreme Court decided, as we have shown, that the people of the United States had prohibited in the Constitution the exercise of such power by Congress as some claim for a territorial government. That the prohibition, in the language of the court, is not confined to the States, but the words are general, and extend to the whole territory, over which the Constitution gives power to legislate,

including those portions of it remaining under territorial government. Notwithstanding the clear language in which, it seems to us, the court decided that the question of slavery is included in the class of powers denied to Congress by the Constitution, Judge Douglas, in his paper in *Harpers'*, asserts that the court did not put this question in the class of prohibited powers. (*Harpers' Magazine*, 530.) And in his reply to the speech of Dr. Gwin, at Grass Valley, California, a copy of which was published in the *Mobile Daily Register*, of November 15, 1859, he distinctly asserts that the court did not declare that the right of the people of any State to carry their slaves into a common territory of the United States, and hold them during its existence as such, was guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The court did not use the word "guaranteed," but did say, "The right of property in a slave is distinctly affirmed in the Constitution. And if the Constitution recognises the right of property of the master in a slave, and makes no distinction between that description of property and other property owned by a citizen, no tribunal acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive, or judicial, has a right to draw such a distinction." The meaning of this language of the court seems to us to be equivalent to saying, that the right of the people of one State to carry their slaves into a common territory of the United States, and hold them there during its existence as such, was guaranteed by the Constitution. Congress is certainly, within the meaning of the opinion of the court, a tribunal acting under the authority of the United States. All admit that moveable property of some kind may be taken into the territories, and the opinion of the Supreme Court is authority for carrying slaves into them. The court expressly decided, that the act of Congress which prohibited citizens from owning and holding property in slaves in the territory of Upper Louisiana, was not warranted by the Constitution, and therefore is void. In the *Dred Scott* case the court decided, that a free negro of the African race, whose ancestors were brought to this country and sold as slaves, is not a citizen within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and incapable of suing in a federal court. From a bill of exceptions taken in the court in which *Dred Scott* brought his suit for freedom, it appeared that *Scott* proved he had been taken by his master into the territory we have mentioned, and held there as a slave as we have already stated, and that the court had instructed the jury "that the law was with the defendant"—the master of

Dred Scott, the plaintiff, in effect that the prohibitory act of Congress upon which Scott relied for his freedom, was unconstitutional.

There are persons who deny that the court had jurisdiction of the question presented by the bill of exceptions, after first holding that the court had no jurisdiction of the case, upon the ground that Dred Scott was not a citizen of the United States. But a majority of the court having the constitutional power to determine the question of jurisdiction as well as every other question which could arise in the case, decided it had jurisdiction of this point also. To most lawyers, with whose opinions we are acquainted, the decision upon the last point is entirely satisfactory. No man can properly say he is a supporter of a judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest tribunal of the whole land, who denies that the court had jurisdiction, or constitutional power to hear and determine the case in which the judgment was rendered.

Judge McLean, one of the two dissenting judges in the case, differs from Judge Douglas, and admits that the court made the decision we maintain was made, and which Judge Douglas denies. Judge McLean said, in this case: "A majority of the court has said, that a slave may be taken by a master into a territory of the United States, the same as a horse or any other kind of property. It is true this was said by the court, as also many other things which are of no authority. Nothing that has been said by them, which has not a direct bearing on the jurisdiction of the court against which they decided, can be considered as authority. I shall certainly not regard it as such." Whether the constitutionality of the prohibitory law was a point which the court had power to decide in the case, was another question of jurisdiction, and that also the court determined it had power to decide. The decision upon this point is as binding upon the dissenting judge as any judgment he ever pronounced, with the concurrence of the majority of the justices, upon us and all other citizens.

If Congress were politically omnipotent as the British Parliament claims to be, the act of a territorial government, excluding slavery from its limits, might be authorized expressly in the charter for its government, or made valid, perhaps, after the enactment of it by the acquiescence of Congress; but as Congress has no other power than the people have granted in the Federal Constitution, a territorial government, a corporation merely created by Congress—an agent only of the general government—can have no other power than such as belong to

its principal, the federal government. As Congress has no power to prohibit slavery in a territory, it is not capable of giving such power to a territorial government, as the Supreme Court decided in express terms in the Dred Scott case. No other party than the Black-republican claims this power for Congress, which, by the decision of the Supreme Court, is denied to it by the Constitution. The doctrine of non-intervention was adopted to prevent the exercise of power by Congress, either to prohibit or authorize slavery in the territories. We are not aware it had ever been claimed for a territorial government, till after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act. If the power were given to Congress by the Constitution to prohibit slavery in the territories, and that body should afterward pass a law, containing an express declaration that it would not exercise the power, and should afterward organize a territorial government, with an express grant of power to prohibit slavery or otherwise exclude it from the territory, and this agent should act upon the grant and forbid the introduction of slaves, such an act would be intervention by Congress, as it would be done by its agent and with their authority. But if, as is true, Congress has no such power to confer upon her agent a territorial government—and the agent claims the power and acts as if it had been lawfully granted, and Congress should acquiesce in the usurpation, upon the groundless claim of a grant of power from that body, it would be a departure from the doctrine of non-intervention by Congress itself; because the act would be done by an agent of Congress, supported by the acquiescence of Congress, which would be an admission in effect, that this body had granted, or intended to grant, the power claimed by the territorial legislature. As slaves can be held in the unorganized territories as they were in Oregon, Utah, California, and others, before the establishment there of territorial governments, surely such a government, created by Congress as their agent, and to protect the inhabitants (as the Supreme Court decided) "in their persons and property," cannot lawfully proscribe any property or refuse to give to property in slaves the same measure of protection which it affords to property of any other kind. As the slaves were held in all the States, except one, when they established the Federal Constitution, it is not to be believed they intended to give power to exclude their own property in slaves from their common property, which might be acquired in future under the Constitution by the general government; and we cannot doubt that if a territory had been conquered or ceded to the United States, before a

majority of the thirteen States had adopted measures for the emancipation of their slaves, the right of slaveholders to remove their slaves into the territory would have been admitted by the whole people.

Should a territorial government seize and appropriate to the use of the settlers within its limits, the lands to which the possessors right of an Indian tribe had not been purchased by the general government, it would be a gross breach of the trust held by the federal government for the tribe, and it would be the unquestioned duty and right of the federal government, as trustee, to expel the settlers by force, if necessary, from the lands. The government has the same power over the lands of the United States held in trust for the people of each State, and the act of Congress of 1807, to carry into effect the constitutional power of the United States over their own lands, authorizes the removal of settlers on the lands of the United States by force, if necessary. Mr. Jefferson said, no other nation ever owned land without exercising, without legislation and as inherent in the title, and arising from it, the right to seize its own lands by force. Mr. Madison, as President, issued a proclamation, in 1815, which required marshals to employ force, if necessary, to remove settlers from the public lands.

For Mr. Jefferson's opinion in support of this power, see 5th volume of *American Law Journal*—73, 75, 76, 77.

Any measure of a territorial legislature expressly excluding slaves, or having an obvious tendency and design to exclude them, would be a violation of the trustees by the general government. For such an act of faithlessness, Congress has power, and should exercise it, to repeal the act that organized the territorial government which usurped power, the exercise of which could be maintained only by the sacrifice of the honor and integrity of the United States. The general government would be disgraced by tolerating such a breach of trust as she holds, and for which an individual trustee could be removed from his office, upon a proper application to the proper judicial authority. That Congress has power to repeal the act which established a territorial government, and thus disorganize the territory, we have no doubt, and presume Judge Douglas has none. His able speech at Springfield, Illinois, affirming the existence of this power in Congress, and recommending, in effect, the exercise of it for the overthrow of the territorial government of Utah, is, we think, unanswerable. That territorial government had denied the title of the United States to the public lands, and claimed them for herself—has laid off towns, and sold and granted the lots as her own. She was guilty, therefore, of a violation of the trust held by the federal government for

the people of all the States. The usages of the government of that territory were obeyed implicitly, as regularly enacted laws would have been, and they subverted religious freedom, and established, in effect, Mormonism, as the religious faith of Utah. In these outrages there was most ample cause to repeal the act which created the government, and establish another there to act as the agent of the general government. It cannot be true that a territorial government has authority to do what would, should she do it, be good cause for terminating her existence.

There is nothing in the objection to holding slaves in a territory founded on the assertion that, in some of the States, the property in slaves is real estate, and, in the others, personal property. Such a difference existed formerly, but we are not aware that it does now. But if there be such a difference in existing State laws, it can make it uncertain, not who is the present owner of the slaves, but who will be after his death—his heirs or personal representatives. Such uncertainty there would be if the laws were uniform in this respect in all the States. No one can know who will be the personal representative of a living person. The alleged difference, if it exists, would not change the proper action for the recovery of slaves, or damages for injuries to them, or the time within which the suit must be brought to avoid the effect of the statute of limitations. Whoever heard of an action of ejectment or writ of right to recover a slave? We are not able to see that the struggle described by Judge Douglas, between the American colonies and the British government, has any tendency to support his opinion in favor of the powers of our territorial governments. The territory included within the limits of each colony, was not the common property of the people of the British empire, but belonged to the proprietaries or grantees of the crown, and of the purchasers under them, unincumbered by such a trust as exists on the public lands, in the territories, in favor of the people of each of the United States. The laws, therefore, of a colony adverse to the claims of the people of Great Britain to take their property in slaves into a colony and hold it there, affords no precedent for the exclusion, by a territorial legislature, of slaves belonging to some of the beneficiaries from the common property of all the people of the United States. The advocates of the claim to the territorial power, which we dispute, rely upon so much of the Kansas-Nebraska bill as "leaves the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." What legal rule of construction authorizes any part of this paragraph in the act to be

disregarded in the interpretation of it? We know of no such law. Why was the reference made to the Constitution in relation to the powers to be exercised by the territorial governments? It could have been made for no other purpose than to test such legislation of these territories by the Constitution, and limit the powers of their legislatures by the power given to Congress over the territories.

The effect of the reference, in the language we have quoted, to the Constitution, is a limitation of the power granted to the territories to such power as Congress had, and was, therefore, capable of granting; and, as Congress had no such power as some claim for a territorial legislature, there is no ground on the part of these territories for even a nominal claim to the power.

The third class of persons described by Judge Douglas, by stating the opinion he supposes they hold on this question, do not think or say it is the duty of the Judiciary to maintain slavery in the territories *without any law* upon the subject; but they do insist that the Federal Constitution is the supreme *law* of the whole land; and, as that recognizes property in all slaves found in the territories, and makes no distinction between such property and property of any other kind—as this highest *law* recognizes property in slaves—they think there is no more necessity for repealing the enactment of the law in an act of Congress, than for the passage of an act declaring that property may exist in horses or cattle.

An act passed by Congress without constitutional power to enact it, or in disregard of a prohibition which is as permanent a law as the Constitution of which it is a part, operates, whenever such an act may be properly questioned, upon either ground of objection. It would be folly to pass a law declaring a previous act void on either of these grounds.

The Supreme Court decided that Congress has discretionary power to adopt the kind of government they may establish for a territory. Discretionary power is absolute power, and the government created by Congress may consist of persons appointed by the federal government, or the power of self-government may be committed to the people who had settled there. The legislative power of some of the territories has, in some instances, heretofore been vested in the governor and judges of the territories appointed by the President and Senate. The greatest objection to the territorial doctrine of Judge Douglas is, that, in the event of the acquisition of Cuba itself, if the President and a majority of both Houses of Congress were Black-republicans, or believed the territories have the powers Judge Douglas claims for them, a territorial government

might be established for it, consisting of a governor and judges of the same party, selected from the free States, who would, in the exercise of their legislative powers, abolish slavery in that rich sugar island, and thus abolitionize it against the will of the inhabitants.

The Constitution entitles the people of the slaveholding States to all the rights they claim, but the leaders of a great sectional party, under the name of Republicans, employ their time, their influence, and what talents they have, in exciting section against section, and the period may come when, if they should acquire the control they expect over the people of the States among whom they live, they may conquer the slaveholding States by arms, should they be able to do so against the determined and powerful resistance they must encounter in the wicked attempt, and ultimately to enslave their own section, and, consequently, the people of each section. If it be possible to subject the slaveholding States to the despotism to which the Black-republican leaders threaten to reduce us, it would be well for the followers of these leaders to remember that this cannot be done without a large army, and that no "nation ever lost its liberty but as the consequence of having standing armies." Cæsar, it is said, "delivered the commons of Rome from the tyranny of the nobles, and then made himself master of both commons and nobles." Such may be the fate of the masses in the free States, who are rallied against the slaveholding States and their constitutional rights, by the hope that their leaders can monopolize for them the lands in the territories, and annul, by the power of numbers, such parts of the Federal Constitution as were intended to secure the territories to all the people of the United States, as common property, and the restoration to their owners of fugitive slaves, and obedience to all the constitutional laws of Congress. Some such laws exist now, which are prevented from being executed, in most of the States, by the teachings of the Black-republican chiefs; and it has been wisely said, that "good laws not executed are worse than none, and only teach men to despise law; whereas, reverence and obedience go together. No law will, or can, be executed by inferior magistrates, while the breach of it is openly encouraged by the example (or teachings) of superiors." "The example of those that should execute laws, or see them executed, is stronger than the authority of those that make them."

ART. IV.—LOVE OF DANGER AND OF WAR.

FEAR and courage, pain and pleasure, grief and joy, are intimately blended, and inseparably connected. There is nothing good or evil in the abstract, or of itself. The sum of human life is made up, both physically and morally, of opposing, yet concurrent forces, some of which we term good, and others evil; yet, being all equally essential to life, and life being desirable above all things, they are, in truth, all good. Pain has been defined as but excess of pleasure. There is much truth in the definition, and it should teach us not to repine at our lot, as the evils which we now suffer may be but part of those contrasts and vicissitudes of life, which will give zest to future prosperity, that, without such contrasts, would be cloying, wearisome, and intolerable. Let the laborer complain not of fatigue; for without fatigue, rest is but restlessness and ennui. Repose and quiet, sound sleep, after severe labor, are higher enjoyments than the idle ever know. Hunger and thirst, when not endured too long, are the only means of procuring pleasure from food and drink. The coarsest crust, and the cheapest beverage, bring exquisite enjoyment to the hungry and thirsty, while the most luxurious dishes, and most costly wines, disappoint the satiated and palsied palates of the gourmand, the glutton, and the epicure.

Exposure to cold prepares us to feel the luxurious comfort from the fire of a cabin; and repose, after labor in a hot sun, beneath a grateful shade, and beside a cool rivulet, confers a calm and quiet enjoyment, that none but the overheated and wearied can fully appreciate. To remain in-doors in cold, or in hot weather, without employment, in order to keep comfortable, is to make life a tedious and monotonous burden. Comfort is a pleasure only to those recently relieved from discomfort. "With all appliances and means to boot," it brings nothing but misery and wretchedness to those who have no further aims, no troubles to encounter, no difficulties to overcome. Solomon, in the book of Ecclesiastes, has, feelingly, eloquently, and philosophically, portrayed the exquisite misery arising from the thorough fulfilment of human hopes, wishes, and ambition. The quiet rest and sleep brought on by labor and fatigue, are finely contrasted with the restlessness which sickness and the cares of state beget, by Shakespeare, in the soliloquy of Henry IV., a part of which we quote:

"O thou dull god! why liest thou with the vile,
In loathsome beds; and leavest the kingly couch,
A watchcase, or a common 'larum bell?
Wilt thou upon the high and giddy mast
Seal up the ship-boy's eyes, and rock his brains
In cradle of the rude imperious surge;

And in the visitation of the winds,
 Who take the ruffian billows by the top,
 Curling their monstrous heads, and hanging them
 With deafning clamors in the slippery clouds,
 That with the hurly, death itself awakes?
 Canst thou, O partial sleep! give thy repose
 To the wet sea-boy in an hour so rude;
 And in the calmest and most stillest night,
 With all appliances and means to boot,
 Deny it to a king? Then, happy low, lie down:
 Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

2D PART KING HENRY IV.

No great epic poet, nor dramatist, nor novelist, has ventured to describe still life, because it would be as insipid and tiresome in the recital, as it is disappointing and illusory in the fruition. The pleasure derived from tales of fiction, proceeds from the due blending and admixture of prosperity and adversity, pain and pleasure, grief and joy. 'Tis true, there are thousands of morbid, diseased, moral, and intellectual appetites, among writers and readers, who luxuriate only in the horrible, who gloat over the calendar of crime and misery, and are only happy when contemplating the ills and misfortunes of their fellow-beings.

But no master of his art ever indulged overmuch in the horrible. It is one of the symptoms of the moral decadence of our day, that those works of fiction, and those periodicals that chronicle crime, misery, and misfortune, and portray human life and human character, in the darkest colors, are the most popular. We rejoice that this REVIEW has no corner for such demoralizing stuff—that it ministers not to depraved tastes, and vulgar, vicious appetites and propensities.

If popular literature continues to sink lower and lower, to become more and more a mere chronicle of police-reports, of misfortunes, immorality, and crime, we shall soon have reason to admire the good sense of the French in shackling the press; if not, the wisdom of Sir William Berkley, when he thanked God that there was not a printing press in Virginia.

The vicissitudes of life are best painted by Homer and Virgil, and as their works give more pleasure, in the perusal, to the reader of refined taste and elevated morality, than any other, we may conclude that a chequered existence, of violent contrasts, of peril and security, of adversity and prosperity, of action and repose, is the happiest; for the pleasure in reading Homer and Virgil, is chiefly derived from our sympathy with the actors in the dramas. We cannot help thinking, as we read, that what is so delightful in recital, must have been still more delightful in action. Homer excels Virgil in describing human character, and in portraying violent passion and violent action

but his paintings of scenery and of still nature, want the delicate touches of Virgil, and he is sadly wanting in religious sentiment and philosophical reflection, which are the chief merits of Virgil, and, we think, of all good poetry. We have the bad taste to prefer the *Æneid* to the *Iliad*. This dissent from the general judgment of mankind, is probably owing to our want of a thorough mastery of the Greek idiom, without which no one can fully appreciate the writings of Homer.

When *Æneas* and part of his ships and followers are cast upon the savage and inhospitable coast of Africa, and the balance of his ships and their crews are supposed to be lost in the recent storm, he makes a speech to his surviving followers, which beautifully exhibits that elasticity of the brave heart, which, in the midst of danger, disaster, and difficulty, plucks the flower of hope from the tomb of fortune, and, by anticipation, gilds a happy future by retrospect and reminiscence of an adverse past.

"O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum)
O passi graviores, dabit Deus his quoque finem.
Vos et Scyllæam rabiem penitusque sonantes
Accētis scopulos; vos et Cyclopiæ saxa
Experti: Revocate animos, mæstumque timorem
Mittite: forsân et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.
Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
Tendimus in Latium; sedes ubi fata quietas
Ostendunt. Illic fias regna resurgere Trojæ
Durate, et vos met rebus servate secundis."

ÆNEID, Lib. I., lines 199-207.

The last line should be the motto of every young man who is about to engage in the struggle and turmoil of active life.

There is a still finer passage, where *Æneas* sees painted on the walls of the Temple of Juno, in Carthage, the exploits of the Trojans during the siege of the city.

"Constitit et lacrimans, 'Quis jam locus inquit, Achate,
Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?'"

Lib. I., lines 459, 460.

Dryden has misconceived and murdered this passage, and made *Æneas* a whining baby, by translating "laboris" "woe."

The tears become the pious *Æneas*, for they are the tears of gratitude, of pride, and patriotic exultation—not the expression of fear, nor the invocation of pity.

He who leads a life of danger, difficulty and adventure, of frequent vicissitudes and hair-breadth escapes, is not only happy while encountering, overcoming, and surmounting the obstacles that beset his path in life, but is laying up a store of reminiscences to amuse and render happy the retirement and quietude of old age. The recital of the story of such a

life pleases men, and subdues and conquers the heart of woman. Every one recollects how Othello woos and wins Desdemona by simply telling the story of his eventful life:

"My story being done,
She gave me for my pains a world of sighs;
She swore;—in faith 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange;
'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful:
She wished she had not heard it, yet she wished
That Heaven had made her such a man. She thanked me,
And bade me, if I had a friend that loved her,
I should but teach him how to tell my story,
And that would woo her. On this hint I spake.
She loved me for the dangers I had passed,
And I loved her, that she did pity them."

OTHELLO, Act I, Scene 3.

It is a blemish in Virgil that he has introduced a god to help Æneas woo Dido. His story, so full of adventure, of peril, of feats of courage, and of privations and misfortunes, which he so eloquently relates, was enough to conquer any woman. The kind-hearted, compassionate, amative Queen was more than half conquered ere his tale began. Her reception address, the most beautiful and philosophical that ever fell from human lips, if not an avowal of love, was a premonitory symptom of a nascent affection:

"Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco."

What a glorious line. It teaches wisdom, and breathes pure and exalted morality. It were worth while to lead a life of suffering, if only to acquire the heart that "feels another's woes." In youth, we heard an old Scotch song that delighted us, because it contained a fraction of the same thought:

"Tis the poor man alone
That can feel for the poor."

All men are not poor, but all who have reached middle life have suffered much and suffered often. The chastening rod of adversity very generally subdues pride, softens the heart, and expands the affections. As we have recommended one line already from Virgil, as a motto for the young, we cannot pass this last line without recommending it as a maxim for the old and the young. "*Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco,*" approaches in purity the Christian injunction, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

When danger is inevitable, women display more fortitude than men. They possess passive, not active courage. They love, and adorn a home, seek quiet retirement, and shun and avoid the vicissitudes, the struggles, the rivalry and danger of out-door life. What constitutes the staple of man's happiness is death to woman. The excitement of change of life, diffi-

culty and danger, often recurring, is too much for her delicate nervous system. Tear a wife away four times from homes that she has adorned, beautified, and learned to love, and the husband will as surely break her heart as he will break his own estate. Virgil, in the fifth book of the *Æneid*, has graphically sketched the opposite character of man and woman, as regards the love of a fixed and settled home. In the eighth year of his wanderings by land and by sea, Æneas has, for the second time, reached Sicily, where he and his followers receive a kindly welcome from Acestes, who offers them a permanent home. Æneas and his men reject the offer, intent on settling in Italy. But still full of spirit, and buoyant and elate with hope, they remain awhile to celebrate with feasts and games the anniversary of the death of Anchises. The women, wearied with change and travel, and disaster by land and by sea, become desperate, and, resolving to compel the men to settle permanently in Sicily, set fire to the fleet. The act was natural, and we see no good reason why Virgil should have called in a god to put them up to it. The promptings of woman's heart should have induced the deed. Poetic truth and poetic effect are impaired by the unnecessary intervention of a deity.

The Amazonidæ, at the siege of Troy, was a poor conceit of Homer's, which Virgil has adopted. A "*Penthisilea furens*," who has doffed the dress and character of woman, "*audet que viris concurrere*," is a natural character enough in a Yankee infidel convention. On such occasions "her tongue is sharper than a two-edged sword," and though no warrior herself, she plays admirably her part as "*belli letterima causa*."

The subjects of which we treat, though never probably grouped together, and handled as a whole, as we are attempting, have incidentally and separately been the frequent themes of poetry, and we should defraud the reader if we did not give the language of those who have written so much more eloquently than we can write. This will account for, and justify our frequent quotations.

Schiller, in an ode entitled "Honor to Woman," has contrasted her delicate nature with the rough nature of man, with an ability and beauty of touch that are unsurpassed by anything in modern poetry :

"Honor to woman! To her it is given
To guard the earth with the roses of heaven!
All blessed she linketh the loves in their choir;
In the veil of the Graces her beauty concealing,
She tends on each altar that's hallowed to feeling,
And keeps ever living the fire.

"From the bounds of truth careering,
Man's strong spirit wildly sweeps ;
With each hasty impulse veering,
Down to passion's troubled deeps ;
And his heart contented never,
Greeds to grapple with the far ;
Chasing his own dream forever,
On through many a distant star !

"But woman with looks that can charm and enchain,
Lureth back at her beck the wild truant again,
By the spell of her presence beguiled :
In the home of her mother, her modest abode,
And modest the manners by nature bestowed,
On nature's most exquisite child !

"Bruised and worn, but fiercely breasting,
Foe to foe, the angry strife ;
Man the wild one, never resting,
Braves along the troubled life ;
What he planneth still pursuing,
Vainly as the hydra bleeds,
Crest the severed crest renewing—
Wish to withered wish succeeds.

"But woman, at peace with all being, reposes,
And seeks for the moment to gather the roses,
Whose sweets to her culture belong.
Ah ! richer than he, tho' his soul reigneth o'er
The mighty dominion of genius and lore,
And the infinite circle of song.

"Strong and proud, and self-depending,
Man's cold bosom beats alone ;
Heart with heart divinely blending,
In the love that gods have known ;
Souls' sweet interchange of feeling,
Melting tears he never knows ;
Each hard sense, the hard one steeling,
Arms against a world of foes.

"Alive as the wind harp, how lightly soever,
If wooed by the zephyr, to music will quiver,
Is woman to hope and to fear ;
Ah, tender one ! still at the shadow of grieving,
How quiver the chords—how thy bosom is heaving—
How trembles thy glance through the tear !

"Man's dominion, war and labor,
Might to right the statute gave ;
Laws are in the Scythian's sabre,
When the Mede reigned—see the slave !
Peace and meekness grimly routing,
Prowls the war-blast rude and wild ;
Eris rages, hoarsely shouting,
Where the vanished Graces smiled."

The love of danger first exhibits itself in the child learning to walk. When it first stands alone ; when it first toddles along a few steps ; recovers, and toddles along again ; how it resembles with mixed sensations of fear and exultation o

pleasure again? In a few years it begins to ride on horseback, held in the seat by a parent's hand, and desperately clinging to the pommel and the mane. By degrees the parent relaxes his hand, the child takes hold of the rein in one hand, still clinging to the pommel with the other. All the while, fear and courage hold divided empire: but danger encountered and overcome gradually conquers fear, and prepares the boy for bolder essays. The pommel is let go, the left hand grasps the rein, the right wields the lash, and the barbed heel drives the spur to the rowel-hilt—victory is complete, danger forgotten or contemned:

"For danger knows
That Caesar is more dangerous than he!"

Yet 'tis the love of the excitement of danger that from infancy to manhood has given zest to enjoyment, filled the breast with exalted pride, and incited and urged on to new and more daring undertakings. Now, the perils of the fox-chase, the deer-hunt or the steeple-chase, beget the more exquisite pleasure, because they most endanger life. The everyday stimulant of danger has become almost a necessity of life, and danger, too, is encountered for its own sake, and not for anything to be attained by the peril incurred.

"Or if the path be dangerous known,
The danger's self is lure alone."

LADY OF THE LAKE.

The love of danger in the abstract—of danger for danger's sake—is an acquired quality, but one very readily acquired by those whose course of life environs them with difficulty and peril. All huntsmen, sailors, and soldiers, exhibit it, but it is most strongly displayed in those who, like "Daniel Boone, the backwoodsman of Kentucky," habituated to the dangers and exposure of frontier life, cannot sleep quietly out of the reach of a scalping knife or the lullaby of the war-whoop. The true frontiersman shuns the advent of civilization, and is continually moving farther into the forest in quest of new adventures and new perils. The trapper, not satisfied with the frontier, urges his way to the Rocky Mountains, crosses them, and is arrested in his search of adventure only by the waves of the broad Pacific. But there is a character bolder and more adventurous than the frontiersman or the trapper, than the soldier, or than he who seeks pleasure mid the crushing ice and killing frost of the polar circle. The trapper, when he has reached the *Ultima Thule* of adventure, finds that the Christian missionary has preceded him, and is quietly

and fearlessly teaching the truths of the Gospel to the savages on the coast of the North Pacific.

Well, and fearlessly, and faithfully has the injunction, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," been obeyed. The Christian martyr is the bravest of men. How many thousands must have perished by the cross and at the stake, ere Constantine proclaimed Christianity the religion of his empire and of the civilized world. The world was ready for the proclamation, for already Christian missionaries had silently planted the cross, not only throughout the empire, but throughout Europe, Asia, and most of Africa. Stimulated by no worldly ambition, by no love of fame, by no hope of reward, we discover from the results of their labors, that the early Christian missionaries exercised a self-devoting courage, far excelling that of any other men. They were but human beings, with much of human frailties and passions. The excitement and pleasure of encountering danger, of overcoming it, or of dying in a noble undertaking, gave zest to their religious zeal, and helped to sustain them in their hours of trial. The consciousness that we are engaged in a noble adventure, robs death of half its terrors. Ovid has well expressed this thought in the epitaph of Phæton :

"Hic situs est Phæton ; currus auriga paterni,
Quem si non tenuit, magnis tamen periit ausis."

As the war-horse, at the sound of the trumpet, pants for battle, so the breast of the brave soldier swells with indignation when he is warned to shun danger. This natural feeling justifies the boastful language which Shakespeare puts in the mouth of the modest Cæsar, when he is told that it would be dangerous to go to the senate-house, and likewise justifies the language which Moore attributes to Hafed under a like provocation :

"' Danger ! oh, tempt me not to boast,'
The youth exclaimed ' thou little know'st
What he can brave, who, born and nurst
In Danger's paths, has dared her worst !
Upon whose ear the signal-word
Of strife and death is hourly breaking ;
Who sleeps with head upon the sword
His fevered hand must grasp in waking !
Danger !'"

FIRE WORSHIPPERS.

There is a deep and useful philosophy to be learned from this love of danger, which makes it so pleasant to risk life or limb, balanced by natural fear, which inclines us to avoid danger, in order to preserve existence. Timidity and rashness

are alike to be avoided, and education should be directed to blending prudence with courage—patience, perseverance, and the love of home, with the spirit of enterprise and adventure. The love of peace and quietude, carried too far, begets the spirit of submission to injury and injustice, and thus defeats its own ends. To be prepared for war, and ready to wage it with undaunted courage when necessary, is the best means of preserving individual, social, and national peace. Rashness is prudence sometimes. To avoid danger we must, often, meet it half way. Too much meekness and patience, under insult and injury, but encourages further aggression.

"Beware
Of entrance to a quarrel; but being in,
Bear it, that thy opposer may beware of thee."

The physical and the moral world are alike sustained (as we have often said) by opposing, yet concurrent forces. In the detecting, analyzing, expounding, and balancing these forces, lies the germ of a true philosophy. God has made nothing evil, nothing useless. This truth should be our guide in all moral researches.

We have exhibited the pleasing struggles of the child and the boy with fear and danger, as he gradually learns to ride, and acquires command of his horse. All the exciting amusements of childhood, of puberty, and manhood are but a succession of adventures of this kind. Tops and marbles afford insipid amusement. Ball, bandy, prisoner's base, cricket, swimming, shooting, skating, &c., in which danger is incurred and physical power exerted, afford far more pleasure, and better prepare the boy for the hardships, privations, and perils of active manhood. Chess, drafts, whist, and other merely intellectual amusements, should be carefully avoided. 'Tis throwing away thought and study that might be usefully employed in reading history, travels, biography, and poetry, which reading soon becomes more agreeable than mere intellectual games—that, in truth, improve neither mind nor body.

We have a neighbor and friend, a staid, correct, learned, orthodox and indefatigable clergyman, who affords a striking illustration of the fact that courage is a universal masculine quality, that will find vent and exercise, even if it have to "ooze out at the elbows!" He always drives a fat, restive, and dangerous horse, ever ready to kick or run off. He has had more upsets, runnings off, smashing of buggies and sulkies, and bruising of limbs, than any man in Virginia. All the equine species seem to know him, for let him get into what

carriage he will, however tame the horses theretofore, they are sure to treat him to an adventure. We are surprised that any one should be so rash as to ride with him, for they are sure to be thrown out. Sometimes dashed violently down a hill; at others, thrown into the soft mud of a ditch, with the Parson under them—for he is always foremost in such adventures—yet his love of wild horses daily increases, and we have of late seen him sitting in a sulky, no bigger than Queen Mab's chariot, with a pair of cobweb reins, ready to break any moment, driving a restive and runaway horse at a rapid rate, happier and more exultant all the while than the foremost rider in a fox-hunt. We used to be terribly concerned whenever he rode out—for 'tis his splendid library and instructive conversation that, in part, render the quiet seclusion of Port Royal classic and agreeable. As Horace invoked the ship that bore Virgil in his perilous voyage across the Adriatic, we were wont to invoke the Parson's horse, in his far more perilous land voyages:

“*Equus! qui tibi creditum
Debes Friend William—
Reddas incolumem, precor,
Et serves animæ dimidium meæ!*”

We have at length, however, acquired faith in his star; he is invulnerable as Achilles, and fortunate as Cæsar. No horse, and no vehicle, is seriously unsafe that bears him and “his fortunes!”

We have seen the love of the excitement of danger beginning in early childhood, and increasing, continually in intensity, up to manhood. We have found that men derive the highest enjoyment from those sports and those pursuits that are attended with most peril and adventure. 'Tis not, therefore, at all strange that war is the favorite pursuit of man; nor, that it has ever been considered the most honorable. This love of war, and admiration of distinguished warriors, is strictly accordant with the rest of the phenomena of human nature. War is the most dangerous of all pursuits, and is attended with more vicissitudes, more violent contrasts, more adventure, and more privation and occasional suffering, than any other. War prepares nations to enjoy peace, and to make good use of it. War draws closer the social ties; for rich and poor, learned and ignorant, high and low, finding themselves beset by a common danger, forget, for a while, class distinctions, in order to unite for common defence. Foreign war begets social intestine peace and brotherhood. The rapacious greed of gain becomes less busy and exacting, rivalry and competition less active; economy takes

the place of luxury, a hardy manliness of a degenerate effeminacy, the real, the true, and the natural, of the adventitious, the conventional, and the artificial. Humbugs are expelled, hypocrites and pretenders exposed, wealth and position cease to be worshipped, and the true man starts into life, and is put uppermost.

In time of long peace, the people always select as governors, enervate, indulgent demagogues, who flatter their vices, buy their votes, and tax heavily the rich to distribute the *panim et circenses* to the idle poor. In time of war they call a Cincinnatus or a Washington to the helm of state. Long peace is more destructive of the morality and intelligence of the rich than of the poor. The necessity of labor, with most of the poor, preserves something of purity, manliness, and hardihood, in their characters. The rich find in voluptuous enjoyment the only road to distinction, and they all become enervate, timid, and emasculate. War elevates the sentiments and the aims of men, makes them love, honor and appreciate each other according to each one's moral worth; begets enterprise and hardihood of character, makes men brave and self-reliant, adds new force and vigor to mind and body, strips off masks, exposes humbug and pretension, and exhibits each man's true worth and character.

The decline of the Roman empire was owing to a long peace. After the fall of Carthage, Rome suffered little from foreign invasion, and from the reign of Augustus, little from war of any kind. The emperors successively usurped the throne by a *coup de main*, which occasioned no general war or disturbance, and the armies stationed in the frontier provinces prevented the incursions of the barbarians who surrounded the empire. Thus, internal peace was preserved for five hundred years. At the end of that time, the Romans had so degenerated in mind and body that they could neither write a book nor fight a battle. Mere handfuls of barbarians successively overrun and conquered the empire. Fear magnified their numbers, but in no instance were the northern hordes equal in number to a hundredth part of the people they conquered. They adopted at once the language, the dress, the religion and the laws of those whom they held in subjection. The personal appearance of these hordes was soon lost among the conquered nations, because they were too few in number, when crossed by intermarriage, to affect the bodily peculiarities of the mass of the conquered. Italians, French, and Spaniards, are, in language, customs, laws, religion, and personal appearance, Romans. The invading barbarians were, in mind and body, superior to the Romans of the sixth

century. It required nearly a thousand years of war to restore that character which a long peace had emasculated. It was not until the fifteenth century that Christendom fairly and fully awaked from its torpor, and began the era of a new, and, in many respects, a higher civilization. There have been many local episodes of partial and temporary retrogression since the fall of Rome. Italy was first to sin. The Crusades gave her trade and wealth, and, for a time, stimulated improvement. But trade and wealth very soon begat luxury and effeminacy. The Italian states of the Middle Ages enjoyed peace, or conducted war with hired troops. Italy became a by-word for cowardice and effeminacy. Yet now, her people are as brave as any in Europe, because, for the last half century, she has been the frequent theatre of war. In the fifteenth century, Spain stood far ahead of all Christendom in intellect and courage. The removal of the Moors, and the discovery of America, gave her long internal peace and great wealth. She, the bravest of the brave, sank too, into insignificance. The invasions of the French, and subsequent civil wars, have restored her pristine courage, and she is now starting into new life. Peace, and trade, and wealth, depressed and depraved Portugal, and injured Dutch character. Every Englishman was a hero under the Tudors and under Cromwell. Internal peace enervated Englishmen; and when Charles Edward invaded the nation, every Englishman played the coward.

Frequent wars of invasion are necessary to keep nations progressive. War alone subjects all to those perils, trials, vicissitudes, dangers, and privations, that are necessary agencies in developing, maturing, and fortifying character, and in exciting intellectual energy, activity, and inventiveness.

"Sweet are the uses of adversity,
That like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in its head!"

ART. V.—MOBILE—ITS PAST AND ITS PRESENT.

HAVING given to our intelligent and esteemed readers, in the February number, 1859, a brief sketch of Mobile, we proceed now in adding new and interesting facts in relation to that city.

The location of Mobile, according to Pickett's History, was originally at *Dog River*, a few miles below her present site.

The traditions of the old settlers, however, are not in harmony with that opinion, and according to their recollections, the original site was at the *Twenty-Mile Bluff* on the Mobile river.

This latter opinion has been verified by the Hon. A. B. Meek, the present speaker of the Alabama House of Representatives, and

author of a History of that State which is soon to be published, by reliable authorities found in the Library of the North during his visit to that section last summer.

The first settlement of the French was made in the year 1702, on the western side of the Bay of Mobile, and called "*Fort St. Louis de la Mobile*."

At this place the French continued their headquarters in Louisiana until the year 1711, when they moved up higher, and established Fort Condé, which was called by the British *Fort Charlotte*. As the land was too valuable to be suffered to remain in mere idle military occupation, the United States government sold it to some enterprising citizens. Its site is now covered with substantial private dwellings and warehouses.

Of all the first colonists, BIENVILLE, the noble and chivalrous governor of Louisiana, seemed ALONE to be endowed with the true spirit of a discoverer and explorer. He worked while all the rest seemed to think of naught besides quarrelling with each other, and complaining to the government at home. He alone appeared to be really *unselfish, magnanimous, and brave*.

In the year 1712, the whole population of Louisiana numbered 324 souls, and Mobile was the seat of government, and so remained the capital town of Louisiana till 1720.

In the year 1785, a census was taken by order of the Spanish commandant, and the inhabitants of Mobile numbered 746.

In the year 1788, the inhabitants were, by another census, 1,788, most probably including the garrison of Fort Condé.

In 1799, Mobile was visited by Mr. Andrew Ellicott, an eminent surveyor in the employ of the government, who was then engaged in running the boundary line, 31st degree north latitude, between the possessions of the United States and those of Spain, under the treaty of 1795 with Spain. He found Mobile handsomely situated; with some tolerably good houses; forty families up the Mobile and Tensas rivers to the boundary line; from the head of Mobile Bay, up the Conecuh river to the boundary, but two plantations; the population of West Florida very inconsiderable, and Mobile and Pensacola with 1,500 inhabitants.

The occupation of the territory of Louisiana, below the 31st degree of north latitude, by the Americans in the year 1813—an occupancy to which they were entitled by the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, but deferred for so long a time by the pertinacity of the Spaniards, who held on to it as a part of West Florida—was the signal for stirring events in the lower country of the then Mississippi territory.

In April, 1813, when the Americans took possession of Mobile, war was pending between England and the United States.

The town of Mobile and the fort Condé (*by the British called Fort Charlotte*), above mentioned, involved a strategic position of great importance to the Americans, as well as to the enemy.

It is clearly understood that the capture of Mobile, as well as

New-Orleans, made a part of a systematic plan of invasion, if not of conquest, by the English on the Gulf coast.

Fortunately, before the enemy were able to attempt this conquest, the Americans were here, and had some means of resistance, and *peace* following closely, no material evil was suffered by what little success they obtained.

For, had the demonstration been followed by the consequences aimed at, the entire Gulf coast must have been the scene of an Indian war—the most cruel and unrelenting—provoked and incited against the Americans by the hostility of the Spaniards, with a base of operations including all the principal ports and harbors in the possession of the English, and unlimited means to annoy and afflict the Americans.

The *English*, under Colonel Nichols, with orders from his government, “to assemble and organize fugitive Indians, runaway negroes, French pirates, and all such inhabitants of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Kentucky, as having witnessed the folly, and felt the oppression of the American government, should be willing to accept the overtures and receive the protection of his Britannic majesty, left Pensacola for Fort Bowyer, Mobile Point, early in September, 1814.

The English force consisted of 4 ships-of-war, 590 men, and 90 guns, with 130 marines, and 600 Indians.

On the 13th of September, 1814, the enemy established a mortar-battery in the rear of the fort.

On the 14th of September, 1814, the armed vessels took their positions within musket range of its water front. A vigorous contest ensued.

The fort was commanded by Major Lawrence, of the United States army, whose force was only 120 officers and men, with 20 pieces of cannon, several of which were badly mounted, behind a battery scarcely knee high.

The engagement lasted, front and rear, three hours, at the end of which the enemy were completely repulsed, losing one of his ships, the *Hermes*, which, becoming unmanageable, ran ashore and was abandoned and burned by her commander, and 232 men killed and wounded. The American loss was 8 killed. Colonel Nichols returned by land to Pensacola.

General Jackson being speedily informed of this event, and of the Spanish sympathy with the English, hastened down, and with an army of 4,000 men, assembled at Fort Montgomery, proceeded to Pensacola.

There he witnessed the English ensign unfurled on the forts along with that of Spain.

He speedily stormed an outwork and took possession. The English with their allies, the red men, and 400 runaway negroes, whom they had allured to their standard, took to flight.

The negroes were taken to the West Indies and sold as slaves by those who had incited them to rebellion against their American masters.

General Jackson speedily left Pensacola, marched to Mobile, and thence to New-Orleans, then threatened with an attack.

Immediately after the great victory of the 8th of January, 1815, the English general, Lambert, retreated, and re-establishing his communication with his fleet, sailed for Dauphin Island, with the purpose of capturing Mobile. But it was thought prudent first to subdue Fort Bowyer, which had so gallantly repelled the former attack.

The enemy landed in the rear of the fort, and on the 8th of February, 1815, instituted a siege in all its formality.

On the 10th of February, 1815, the batteries were carried within thirty yards of the ditch.

On the 11th February, 1815, a surrender was agreed upon, and on the next day the fort was evacuated.

Though the previous successful resistance might have warranted a struggle on the part of the brave defenders, against such an army as had then besieged them, no effort could have withstood the thousands of veteran troops that now pressed upon the small and badly provided redoubt, who promised themselves some revenge for the loss of "*the beauty and booty*" of New-Orleans.

Happily, the next day after the evacuation, the 13th of February, 1815, news of peace came, which had been concluded at Ghent, in December, 1814.

So, Mobile was saved from conquest. As the American people had been pressing down for years along the border, over which they could not come, because of the Spanish dominion, thus settlements were made in towns, and plantations opened in a country new and fresh.

St. Stephens, situated on the Tombigbee river, about one hundred miles from Mobile, was the principal town. Here was the seat of a land office of the United States Court, of rich merchants, and of Indian traders, of beautiful women, and of undoubted commercial activity and prosperity. *St. Stephens* became the mother of Mobile. Its trade left it and came here, its people came here, its very houses were brought hither, and there is more than one good substantial mansion now in this city that once graced the streets and lawns of *St. Stephens*.

In this rage for speculation, Mobile had at a nearly day a formidable rival in the town of Blakely. This town is pleasantly situated on the east bank of the Tensas river, at about an equal distance from the sea with Mobile, and, perhaps, more readily approached by vessels, whether from the rivers or from Mobile bay. The locality is well adapted to commerce, and equally to the facility of building and improvement for a large city, with abundant springs of delicious water.

It is an inherent disposition in the race to make *money* out of *land*, and the Spaniards would give any man as much as he wanted; all that was required was a petition in respectful terms, to *El Senor Commandante*, setting forth that the land was unoccupied, and that the petitioner had some use for it.

About the period above mentioned, T. L. Hallett, Esq., an enter-

prising gentleman, arrived in the Mobile Bay in a vessel, on board of which he had, besides merchandise for an extensive business, several frames of houses with workmen ready to erect them.

He first went to Blakely, but so extravagant were the views of the lot owners, that he was induced to come to Mobile, where he settled, and became a very influential, active, and enterprising merchant. This is said to have given the preponderance to Mobile.

Many of the houses at Blakely were removed to Mobile, and its stores and warehouses *gradually* decayed. Its beautiful hills, crowned by gigantic live oaks, refreshed by perennial springs of delicious water, are left to the enjoyment of the solitary keeper of a public house, who can solace himself with the occasional visits of the traveller.

In January, 1814, the legislature of the Mississippi territory incorporated the "President and Commissioners of the Town of Mobile." The act provided that the tax assessment should be 12½ cents on every 100 dollars of property liable to taxation.

The Legislature of the new State of Alabama incorporated Mobile as a city in December, 1819, by the name of the "Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Mobile." The provision for the support of the city was increased by a tax of fifty cents on one hundred dollars, on personal and real estate.

Addin Lewis, Esq., a collector of the United States revenue, was the first mayor, and Edward Hall, Esq., the first city clerk.

Mr. Lewis was, at the same time, besides collector of customs and mayor of Mobile, the postmaster of Mobile and the president of the Bank of Mobile.

In the year 1820, a company for supplying the city of Mobile with water was incorporated, with the exclusive right for 50 years, and is furnishing now hydrant water, not excelled in purity by any public water-works in the United States.

The growth of the city, up to the year 1830, was very gradual, containing then 12,000 or 13,000 inhabitants.

The advance, meanwhile, and up to the present time, in all the elements of wealth, and of social as well as commercial improvement, has been great, and the inhabitants number now about 35,000.

Many new and substantial residences have been built. The general salubrity of Mobile, the fine climate, the suburban attractions, and the creation of a thousand inducements and allurements that cluster around social life, have operated much in her favor. In fact, Mobile will be soon a great central point, from which commerce will diverge by land to the remotest quarters of the great interior, and by sea not only to Europe and the eastern coasts of the United States, but to Mexico, South America, and California.

There has been a large increase in the trade and commerce of the port of Mobile over that of last year, as will be seen by reference to the statistical accounts, contained in the accompanying review, taken from the *Mobile Merchants' Exchange Prices Current* :

Exports of Cotton from Mobile to Foreign Ports for Two Years.

Where Exported.	Year ending 31st August, 1859.			Year ending 31st August, 1858.		
	Bales.	Pounds.	Value.	Bales.	Pounds.	Value.
To Great Britain—In American Vessels	247436	128692188	\$14839552	188120	97568805	\$10789757
In British Vessels..	105545	54634863	6876602	76823	38641015	4247635
In Swedish Vessels.	.....	.....	.....	700	364018	40264
Total to Great Britain.....	352981	183327051	\$21816214	265643	136513838	\$15077696
To France—In American Vessels.....	105782	55861387	6393042	89689	46555080	5137902
To Spain—In Spanish Vessels.....	7798	3874479	503287	2800	1372373	164924
To Russia.....	16551	8557656	1060556	10909	5752860	70 4014
To Holland.....	1802	946424	110787	1358	725244	91735
To Belgium.....	6904	3569298	410497	.....	.....	.....
To Hamburg and Bremen.....	9632	4952272	563470	6047	3194540	389065
To Sardinia and Denmark.....	.....	.....	.....	282	143584	14380
To Sweden.....	4668	2472270	286546	3150	1634496	174652
To Trieste and Genoa.....	8834	4565864	239436	7137	3683314	400847
Total to other Foreign Ports.....	48391	25023784	2971292	28833	15133982	1774687
Grand total.....	514952	268026681	\$31683335	387015	199575273	\$22155219
RECAPITULATION.						
To Great Britain.....	352981	183327051	\$21816214	265643	136513838	\$15077696
To France.....	102455	54142311	6186964	89689	46555080	5137902
To Spain.....	7798	3814459	503287	2800	1372373	164924
To other Foreign Ports.....	48349	26023784	2971292	28833	15183982	1774687
Total.....	514952	268026681	\$31683335	387015	199575273	\$22155219

The receipts of cotton at this port, for the year, August 31st, 1858, to August 31st, 1859 amount to 691,724 bales, which is an excess of 168,666 bales on that of the preceding year.

Very shortly after the evacuation of the Spaniards, a newspaper was established in Mobile, even before the battle of New-Orleans. There are here now four daily newspapers, and as many weekly papers from the same offices.

The *Register* (democratic) is the oldest paper, and dates from December, 1821. It is now published by the Hon. John Forsyth.

The *Advertiser* (conservative) was established in 1833, and is now published by Messrs. W. G. Clark & Co. The *Evening News*, now an appendage of the first, dates from the 1st of November, 1852.

The *Tribune* (independent) was founded in 1842, and is now published by Messrs. H. Ballantyne & Co.

The *Mercury* (State rights democrat) was established on the 12th of August, 1857, and is now published by Messrs. Horn, Brantly & Co., the editors of which have shown us all courtesy in strengthening our friendly relations in Mobile, for which we tender our sincerest thanks.

Twenty-four places for the worship of God are now to be found here, among which nearly all the principal sects of Christians are represented, with able ministers, and the Jews also have two synagogues. Among the church edifices are several that would be creditable to any of our larger cities, while all of them, without exception, are neat, well built, well preserved, and well attended. There are three Roman Catholic, five Methodist, four Presbyterian, three

Protestant Episcopal, and three Baptist churches, one Protestant Methodist church, one Bethel (the latter for seamen), one church for colored Protestant Episcopalians, and two churches for colored Methodists, and a Floating Chapel anchored in the Mobile Bay, for the seamen of the large commercial fleet, while awaiting cargoes. The "Bethel" and the "Ship-Church" are beneficent charities.

The charitable institutions are numerous here. Among them are:

The Protestant Orphan Asylum, and the Catholic Orphan Asylum, in which the young orphan children of this city, who are left penniless and friendless, are taken, nursed, clothed and trained for some useful calling.

The Female Benevolent Society has connected with it a most humane provision—a row of 12 brick houses ("the Widows' Row") and occupied by none but widows, in order to rescue "the lone ones" from the pangs of poverty and desolation.

The Samaritan Society, and the "Can't-get-Away Club," are specially devoted to the sick and suffering.

The City owns an Hospital, a large, commodious and well-ventilated edifice for the poor, where they are all well nursed and attended by highly competent and skilful physicians.

The United States have a Marine Hospital here, an excellent establishment, with an eminent professional gentleman at its head.

The Providence Infirmary is a large, new, and well-arranged building, under the kindly superintendence of the Sisters of Charity.

Besides these institutions, which are public, there are several private hospitals under the care of enterprising professional gentlemen.

With a medical faculty sufficiently numerous, and of the best professional training, Mobile needs nothing that public spirit and private enterprise can do, to meet all the exigencies incident to the climate.

No city in the Union has a better regulated Fire Department than Mobile. There are eight engine companies, and one hook-and-ladder company. They are all fully manned by a true and able body of men, with machines of the best workmanship, and all the late improvements.

The United States Bank had a branch here, which, on its failure to get a charter from Congress, was closed early in 1836. George Poe, Esq., was its Cashier, and had the satisfaction to report to the mother-bank that the Mobile branch, in its dealings of many millions, had never lost a dollar.

The Planters and Merchants' Bank was chartered in the year 1836. It ceased to exist in 1842. It began in bad times, when the great revulsion of 1837 shook the whole commercial world.

There are at present in successful operation here, two banks of issue; the Bank of Mobile was first chartered on the 20th of November, 1818, and this charter was renewed on the 9th of February, 1852, for twenty years; and the Southern Bank of Alabama was chartered on the 12th of February, 1850.

The capital of these banks is actually insufficient for the commercial purposes of the city of Mobile, the transmission simply of whose

staple to distant markets, requires about thirty-five millions of dollars.

The Mechanics Savings' Company is (though not a bank of issue) a bank of discount and deposit. It is a useful and well-managed bank, and was incorporated on the 7th February, 1852.

The education of the people, so wisely aided by the general government, has been, after many trials, well-seconded in this city.

There is here the Barton Academy, a school edifice, which may vie in cost of construction, extent and adaptation, with the best edifices of the kind in the Union. It is nearly 200 feet long, three stories high, and sixty feet wide. The rooms are large and airy, and the accommodations most ample for schools of both sexes, and of all the degrees of scholarship. The situation of the building, surrounded by a heavy and substantial iron railing, with live oaks on all sides, within the enclosure of an entire block of ground, presented to the city by Willoughby Barton, Esq., a young lawyer from Georgia, is, in all respects, admirable. Here young men may be fitted for college, or finish a course, in which all the ordinary collegiate studies are taught by able and efficient masters. And young ladies may, under accomplished teachers of their own sex, be fitted to adorn any sphere of life.

The United States have finished a magnificent building for a Custom-House, Court-House, and Post-Office, of granite and iron, at a cost of \$400,000.

In our review, thus hastily sketched, of the city of Mobile, we should rise from our task unsatisfied, were we to omit to note the quiet and unostentatious dignity, order, and system, with which its commercial transactions are conducted.

Our intercourse with the mercantile society of the city, and our observation of the high-toned and honorable bearing with which the largest commercial transactions are daily carried on, have satisfied our mind, that the characteristics for which the Mobile merchants are distinguished, have not been undeserved.

Indeed, the remark has been proverbial for many years, that in no section of the Union has commercial honor, and the moral observance of the obligations of contracts, attained so high an elevation as in this emporium of the great State of Alabama.

And when we consider the importance, in a commercial point of view, which the city occupies in the scale of exporting ports of the Union, being, at this period, the second exporting city of America, how incalculable must be the advantage it derives from a character so universally accorded to it for its "sound and fair dealing," its religious observance of contracts, and punctilious honor in performing them. Indeed, under a calm, and, we trust, not a hasty and undigested view of the present and prospective importance of Mobile, we have been surprised to find, from authority which commands our full respect and credence, that the present estimate of value placed upon real estate is so low as compared with its great commercial neighbor and rival New-Orleans.

We are informed that, with the exception of a few favorably situ-

ated localities for business, real estate is not to-day marketable for as high a price as it is in the interior towns of Selma and Montgomery; the latter of which has had its importance greatly enhanced, within a few years, by its selection as the capital of the State.

The depression in the value of real estate in Mobile, is, doubtless, attributable, in some degree, to the ample area adopted originally as the city limits, embracing, as it does, a beautiful plain of miles in extent, now lying without the city proper, or resting in a state of nature, wholly unimproved.

To the eye of a stranger, in an hour's ride over the environs of the city (no part of the Union can be more beautiful and picturesque), the impression is made, that, at no distant day, an immense impetus must be realized in the extent and expansion of its population.

When we consider, too, the peculiar facilities of this location for a great city, in other respects, and the public works now rapidly progressing to completion, in order to connect the city with the great West, by the Mobile and Ohio railroad, and with the East, by the Great Northern railroad, now a secured purpose, well and amply projected and provided for, thus penetrating the richest sections of four of the most productive States of the Union, agriculturally, the conviction on our mind is irresistible, that this city, great, comparatively, as it now is, is only in its infancy.

To crown all, its advantages in regard to cleanliness and health, and the easy access to the most healthful region on the continent, within one hour's ride, over fine roads, to a delightful pine woods country, and as secure from epidemic as the Andes, with the present free-stone water, and where land can be obtained in any quantity, at from two to five dollars per acre, completes a picture which we have attempted truthfully to draw of some of the many encouraging reflections produced on our mind, from a short sojourn in this polished and hospitable city.

Finally, if we may be permitted to penetrate the future, and "look into the seeds of time," we now venture the prediction that the city of Mobile will, in three years more of the toil, industry, public spirit and enterprise of its citizens, enter upon a new career of prosperity and development, and continue, for a half century to come, to approximate in commercial importance to the Queen City of the Gulf of Mexico, and, although she may never equal the latter, her march will be onward, in parallel lines, and, while satisfying the amplest aspirations of her friends, and being the pride of Alabama, command the admiration and respect of New-Orleans and the country.

ART. VI.—ENFRANCHISEMENT OF SOUTHERN COMMERCE.

ARGUMENT OF D. H. LONDON, PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION OF VIRGINIA.

THE official records of the country assert that the representation from the States of Virginia and New-York, in the Congress of the United States, were as follows :

	1700,	1790,	1800,	1810,	1820,	1830,	1840,	1850,
Virginia had	10,	19,	22,	23,	22,	21,	15,	13
New-York had	6,	10,	17,	27,	34,	40,	34,	33

And to-day the proportions are as they were in the year 1850 namely : Virginia has thirteen representatives in the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States, while New-York has thirty-three. But the commerce of these two States presents a picture worthy of the profoundest attention.

		Virginia and Maryland.	New-York.
Imports year	1750.....	£349,419.....	£267,130
Exports "	1750.....	508,939.....	35,632
Imports "	1760.....	£605,882.....	£480,106
Exports "	1760.....	504,451.....	21,125
Imports "	1770.....	£717,782.....	£475,991
Exports "	1770.....	435,094.....	69,882

This table is in pounds, and the imports and exports of Maryland and Virginia are placed together for these years ; but by reference to the memorial and accompanying documents of the Central Southern Rights Association of Virginia to the legislature of the State, in the year 1851, at page 9, it will be seen that it is stated as taken from *Hnut's Merchants' Magazine*, and believed to be true, that, in the year 1791, the imports and exports of Virginia *alone*, as compared with New-York, were as follows :

Virginia imports.....	\$2,486,000	New-York imports.....	\$3,022,000
Virginia exports.....	3,131,000	New-York exports.....	2,505,000

At this period, 1791, these two States were nearly equal.

Let us now see the appalling picture of the exports and imports of these two States in the years following :

	Virginia.	New-York.
Imports, 1821.....	\$1,078,400	\$23,629,246
Exports, 1821.....	3,079,009	13,062,917
Imports, 1830.....	405,739	35,624,070
Exports, 1830.....	4,791,644	19,697,953
Imports, 1840.....	545,085	60,440,750
Exports, 1840.....	4,778,220	34,264,080
Imports, 1850.....	426,599	111,123,524
Exports, 1850.....	3,415,646	62,712,769

By whose action has this condition of affairs been produced ? Who has deprived Virginia of her once flourishing foreign commerce ?—Who has neglected her interests ? Who has plundered her husbandmen of their labor ? Who has turned her seaports into neglected villages ? Whose blighting hand has dwarfed her representation in the national legislature, till she is too feeble even to be respected where she was once powerful ? In vain is it answered that the institution of slavery has produced this result. Slavery existed in Vir-

ginia in the days of her prosperity as well as it does now. It cannot be answered that it is due to a want of intelligence and adaptation for commercial or agricultural pursuits in our people. Such an affirmation is a libel on the most virtuous and intelligent people in the United States. Will any heedlessly refer to the Gulf stream as favoring the Northern States in their commercial enterprises? That stream ran through the waters of the Atlantic ocean at the same point it now does, long anterior to our existence in this Western World, and will continue its course long after we have passed away. Was the Gulf stream less an obstacle in 1750 than it is now? To these questions there is but one, and only one answer, and that is this: IT IS THE PERNICIOUS HAND OF GOVERNMENT which has degraded us and benefited others.

Below is presented a statement of the fishing bounties from 1791 till 1857, as reported to the Senate of the United States in the first session of the 35th Congress.* The Secretary of the Treasury, James Guthrie, then stated that the laws upon this subject, instead of furnishing encouragement for seamen, mainly encouraged the commission of multiplied perjuries.

The federal government has framed its laws from the adoption of the Federal Constitution till the present time, so as to transfer the results of the toil of the people of Virginia and of the Southern States to the benefit of others; and, at this very time, about three hundred thousand dollars are paid annually out of the Federal treasury to the citizens of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, for catching codfish; and the statistics disclosed the fact, that more than twelve millions of public money have been, by the act of a common government, extracted from the people of this State, in part, to be lavished upon a vocation in which the people of Virginia have no interest; for if there is any one article of food in all the world *not used* by our people, it is codfish.

The navigation laws, by which foreign vessels are forced out of the coasting trade, and their exclusion from our ports, except under regulations designed to benefit the ship-owners of the Northern States, where it was and is known that this interest chiefly exists, are detrimental to our interests.

The reciprocity treaty, by which Canadian wheat and breadstuffs are admitted free, brought into Northern markets, in 1857, ten millions, one hundred and ninety-one thousand, five hundred and thirty-two dollars worth of grain and flour, to exclude the grain and breadstuffs of Virginia and the other Southern States.

These items are not all to which allusion might be made, but they suffice to justify the statement, that Virginia and her sister Southern States can look to the action of the federal government with no prospect of justice and consideration.

But the worse than indifferent, yea, the baneful legislation which has been pursued by Virginia herself, affecting her own commerce and

* We omit the table. It shows a bounty granted to the fisheries, which ranges from \$200,000 to \$600,000 per annum.—Ed.

her own agriculture, must now be examined. Surely, it is not necessary to say that the legislation of any free people is defective, when the laws that should protect the laborer and secure to him the fruit of his own toil, are so framed as to wrench from his hand the just equivalent for his labor, and place it in the possession of another, especially when that other is not a friend.

The laws respecting merchants' licenses are so framed as that the grossest inequality prevails throughout the whole State, and the operation of the tax for merchants' licenses is a direct bonus to every retail merchant in the State to go beyond the limits of Virginia to procure his supplies.

[Upon this point Mr. London presents some arguments which may be regarded as entirely unanswerable. We have no space for them now.]

This section, it will be thus seen, is a positive and malignant injustice to the small and feeble merchants, and bears heavily on them; while the princely and powerful are burdened so lightly as to make the conclusion inevitable, that, if the legislature had any object in view, it was to oppress the small retailer, of whom the poor are *obliged* to buy in many instances, and to protect the large and opulent merchant from bearing the same proportionate burden as the poor man engaged in the same vocation bears, for the privilege of selling goods, wares, and merchandise, upon the soil of Virginia. If sales are to be taken as an index to the property or capital of the merchant, then apply the same rule to all. If the intention is to tax according to the ratio of profit, then the legislature has entered into an interminable labyrinth from which there can be no escape, unless we can anticipate some new method for calculating the profits of a vocation that has puzzled those who have for years been directing their whole energies to discover the means of adjusting their profits, at the expiration of even long periods of business undertakings. If the object has been to derive the largest revenue from the amount of goods sold in the State, then the means adopted has been the least sagacious, for *the largest operator pays the very smallest pro rata tax*; but if the object has been to induce the interior merchants to seek the markets of other States to procure his supplies, the wisdom of this clause in our tax bill may be commended, as it in fact operates as a bonus of from one to two State taxes—in many instances a discrimination against our own citizens, from whom the State has demanded and received a license tax to carry on a lawful business on the soil of Virginia. Was this the object of the law? If so, continue it; but if any other purpose can be divined for the measure, then show the end and object of its existence.

* * * * *

It is due to our pecuniary interests as a people, that all direct importations from abroad should be exempt from every burden, when we are advised of the fact that one single vessel of 800 tons coming to James river, from Liverpool with salt, even, discharging and taking in a cargo of flour and tobacco for Europe, will distribute as much money as almost every vessel now engaged in the coasting trade distributes in a whole year. This fact can be shown by com-

petent testimony, but beyond this, another fact that our products find a market in foreign countries chiefly, and not in the Northern States, renders it too clear that our true interests must indicate the most direct and untrammelled intercourse with those who consume our products, but the fact that we have been deprived of our foreign commerce by the laws of the federal government, and our own State government combined, must suggest the duty of using the reserved powers of the State for regaining that trade which has been driven away from our own seaport towns. But as the acts of our own State are now before us, the pilot laws of Virginia must constitute a subject of remark, and that the folly of these measures may be brought to view, it is only necessary to state that it is made obligatory on every vessel, unless loaded with coal, engaged in the foreign trade, to employ a pilot, whether he be needed or not, when she approaches our waters; whereas no coasting vessel is required to employ a pilot unless she chooses. The charge on plaster for pilotage to Richmond, when brought directly from the places where it is produced, is as much as twice its cost frequently, and upon other articles in the same ratio by the foot, according to the draft of the vessel, upon no other pretext as appears by the law in the Code, than that she is engaged in the foreign trade, whether owned or not in this State. Surely all reasoning is at an end with the law-making power of the State when it shall be necessary to argue that an agricultural people ought not to burden the vessels of their own citizens and others which are engaged in bringing them articles of prime necessity and of general use, while the vessels of those who have sometimes been purloining their property, in open violation of the laws of the State, are allowed to enter our waters, participate in our commerce, and come and go with cargoes of any size, with not a single farthing exacted of them without the positive contract of the captains of these vessels; and this, too, whether the vessel is owned or not by a Virginian. This unwise discrimination against our foreign commerce is, as a measure of State policy, in no way defensible. It is known that upon many occasions efforts have been made to amend the pilot laws, but in 1856 a highly respectable body, the Board of Trade of Richmond, asked that these pilot laws should be adjusted upon equitable principles. If the pilots of Virginia cannot subsist without this measure in the shape in which it now stands, then it will be better to make a direct appropriation from the treasury of the State for their benefit, and let the voluntary principle be applied to them and their interests. When a captain wishes to employ a pilot, let him do it at such charges as may be thought reasonable, or make all vessels, whether coastwise or foreign, pay the same, and be compelled to take the first pilot that offers his services when the vessel approaches the waters of Virginia. The effect of these laws upon the foreign direct trade of Virginia have been so destructive, that no language can be found to describe their full force.

* * * * *

May we not affirm that one of the finest bays in the world, the noblest of all the arms of the ocean, the best climate, the most valuable productions of the earth, are of no advantage—yea, the most

zealous patriots must desist in their efforts for regenerating their State, if our legislature is resolute in maintaining these unjust and malignant enactments, which have locked up from foreign commerce the Chesapeake bay, with its tributaries, and safely deposited the keys in the keeping of the citizens of Maine, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, New-York, and the other Northern States. Surely the legislative body will bear no longer the humiliating attitude that they present to the world, of using the powers of the State to impoverish our own people, so as to benefit those who have already received so much from the labor of the people of Virginia and the South. The great inequality already produced between the North and the South, by the action of the federal government, will appear from the tables appended to an essay attributed to Honorable M. R. H. Garnett, formerly a member of the legislature of this State, in which it is shown that each man in the South paid the following unequal sums as compared with the North in the years named, to wit :

	South per Head.	North per Head.
Years from 1797 to 1800.....	21.60	11.25
1801 to 1810.....	31.27	13.56
1811 to 1820.....	32.37	10.37
1821 to 1830.....	34.71	7.12
1831 to 1840.....	27.42	4.29
1841 to 1845.....	10.46	1.99

And that the South lost in the foreign trade the use of \$133,472,827 of her capital in the year 1848, and the North gained it—besides paying to the federal government as taxes the sum of \$26,000,000, \$23,000,000 of which amount was spent beyond our borders. For the year 1858, upon the same principles, the South lost the use of about \$225,000,000 of her capital, taking our exports and imports as the basis of the calculation. These figures are frightful when the fact is disclosed that the citizens of Massachusetts absolutely receive two dollars in pensions and bounties while they pay only \$1 99 in taxes. The amount yearly taken from the labor of the South to benefit the Northern people by the laws of Congress, is too huge for any freeman to contemplate with patience, and for the legislature of Virginia to be intercepting a trade which might go directly from her producers to those who need her products, and to divert these articles of trade into the hands of those who are not our friends, and that, too, at so frightful a cost, is too absurd to be anticipated.

Can any measure be so simple as to require the pilots to enter upon every vessel from any Northern free State, and continue on her during her whole stay in our waters, and superintend her unloading and taking in cargo, and then conduct her beyond the waters of the State, the compensation being paid by the vessel? And this ought to apply to steamers as well as the sailers. This measure would furnish some guarantee to the slaveholders that their property would not be in hourly danger by thieves. This use of the pilots would be valuable, but now they are used to the prejudice of every interest in the State, as will appear hereafter.

But the uses to which the banking capital of the State has been applied, with the knowledge and consent of the legislature, forms

another item in the chain of legislation by which our vassalage to the North is continued.

[Here, again, want of space compels us to omit a very satisfactory argument in support of the position taken.—Ed.]

It is estimated that there are about seven millions of bushels of wheat produced on the Chesapeake and its tributaries, other than the Potomac. Of this, there are ground in Richmond three millions of bushels. At this time only about three hundred thousand barrels of flour are shipped to foreign countries direct from Richmond. Nearly all the rest is shipped coastwise, and sold chiefly in New-York for export. This course is taken, in part, because the manufacturers here can in that way realize on it, as their drafts on New-York will be discounted by our banks here in preference to local paper. But this course, on the part of the moneyed institutions of the State, is not the whole cause of this evil. The chief causes are the merchants' license laws, the pilot laws, and the policy of the federal government; for of \$26,000,000 as taxes collected from the South, \$23,000,000 are spent beyond its borders; but *our* pilot laws have contributed to exclude the consumers of our flour from our waters. If this was the extent of our action, it would not be so monstrous; but we prevent our own citizens from owning vessels which could carry our flour and grain to foreign markets, from engaging in such enterprises, unless they pay the enormous exactions for pilotage up and down the bay and its tributaries, levied on all vessels trading to foreign ports. But the navigation laws and tonnage duties of the federal government are another assistant in this roundabout operation. There is quite three fourths of all our grain crop, from these and other causes hereafter to be named, on which there are charges in the shape of commission and freight, to a point no better suited by nature for shipping than the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries, making a sum equal to at least five per cent. on the value of nine millions of bushels of wheat, worth about \$12,000,000—say twelve millions of dollars—a clear loss of \$600,000.

On the article of manufactured tobacco, the charges are, from similar causes to those affecting the wheat markets of the State, fully *ten per cent.*, as will appear by the examination of any account of sales rendered by any regular Northern commission house in the tobacco trade, and upon our product of that article alone, the clear profits in commissions, guarantees, and other charges to Northern houses, is as much as one a quarter millions of dollars, (\$1,250,000). The losses on the tobacco shipped to foreign countries are certainly not less than the sum which it costs a buyer of tobacco to ship his cargoes from Richmond to a foreign port, more than it would cost from a port where the port was open to foreign vessels, and to which he could safely calculate on a return cargo. This item cannot be much less than 5 per cent. on our export of leaf and stemmed tobacco, which is certainly not less than three millions of dollars annually. These two items are based on the manufacture of 44,784 hogsheads for 1859, and for the year 1858, of 34,225 hogsheads, and the exports of the same year being in hogsheads, for 1859, 18,774

hogsheads; for 1858, 27,144 hogsheads. From these data, our whole losses in prices upon the wheat crop and the tobacco crop may be stated as follows:

Wheat at Alexandria and on the Potomac, 2,500 bushels at 14c.	\$350,000
Wheat at Richmond and on the Chesapeake and its tributaries, other than the Potomac, 7,000,000 bushels at 8c.	560,000
Wheat at all other points, say Wheeling, Winchester, &c., 2,500,000 bushels at 10c.	250,000
Commissions, &c., on the sales of the product of 9,000,000 bushels, as explained above, worth \$12,000,000. at 5 per cent.	600,000
Ascertained loss on wheat for want of direct trade, in its price, supposing our wheat of no more value than Northern wheat.	\$1,760,000
Loss on manufactured tobacco, product \$12,500,000, in commissions, guarantees, and freights, 10 per cent.	1,250,000
(The official reports disclose \$250,000 of this as exports.)	
On leaf tobacco, in increased freights and Pilotage, 200,000 hogsheads, worth certainly \$3,000,000, at 5 per cent.	150,000
Losses on these two articles alone.	\$3,160,000
From this sum should be deducted only $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. exchange made by our banks.	79,000
	\$3,081,000

On these two crops, tobacco and wheat, we absolutely lose, and take less than a Northern man takes for similar articles on his seaboard, more than three millions of dollars under any circumstances. But there are many just and enlightened men who would make the loss as much as three millions of dollars on the wheat crop alone. For, if five bushels of wheat will produce one barrel of flour, and that barrel of flour is worth certainly one dollar a barrel] more than any other flour in the market, then the wheat should be worth, in proportion, twenty cents the bushel more. Apply this rule, and these figures will be greatly augmented.

Surely our supplies in goods, wares, and merchandise, from the North, are shown by the valuable report of the first Auditor, of more than \$40,000,000. Forty millions cannot be passed through the hands of our Northern masters without a cost of *certainly* as much more, which is only $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on \$40,000,000. We are thus tarnished with the monstrous fact, humiliating and galling because of its truth, that we are from the labor of Virginia yearly paying a sum (twice the amount of the revenue we pay into the State treasury) to States and people who despise and scorn us. Is there no remedy asks every mind. The answer is plain and simple. There cannot be any fact more plainly taught by history than that tribute is the province of the slave. If a State or nation will submit to be plundered in any way by another, the tribute-payer must be the servant of the other.

It is obvious that the people of Virginia are not in receipt of the value from their own labor to which they are entitled, in consequence of these measures, viz.: The merchants' license act, the pilot laws, and the allowances to the banks to depart from their legitimate business and embark a large portion of their capital in fostering coast-wise trading, which are measures within your control, without going farther and entering into any discussion respecting the department of the federal government. Against the views of the losses sustained on our wheat and tobacco, there will be a statement that the wheat

sold in Alexandria is inferior to that sold in Richmond, and that the difference between Richmond and New-York is attributable to natural causes? To the first the reply is obvious, that unless the climate and soil, and careful farming furnished by a very intelligent portion of the State are misrepresented, the wheat grown in Culpeper, Fauquier, and the counties along the Blue Ridge, which find its market at Alexandria, is as good as is grown anywhere. The quotations of prices furnished may be relied on as being very nearly, if not exactly, correct, as between our highest Virginia market, Richmond, and New-York; and if we can lay upon nature the blame of our having compounded without any advantage our commercial independence with those who have arranged our natural, navigation, and other laws so as to drive from our waters the foreigner and his vessels, and not content with this, fastened up with our own hands the Chesapeake from our commerce, then we may trace our inferior position to any cause other than the true one.

The measures heretofore indicated would be justifiable and proper if we were now in a confederation in which we were treated as equals; but as measures of retaliation as well as of policy *now* are necessary, and as nothing can be so effectual for the first purpose as to strike from the hands of our oppressors the sceptre of commercial supremacy, this end can be accomplished by simply making the tax on merchants and others that buy Yankee productions, large enough for our people to be enabled to turn that portion of the foreign trade necessary for our consumption, from the Northern seaports into our own, exempting altogether all direct importations from abroad, from any State taxes upon these sales. As a measure of policy, the placing of the pilots on board of the vessels, at their charge, which may come into our waters, would serve an admirable purpose.

Idle resolves are worse than worthless; reasoning with fanaticism is foolishness; wrangling and disputing and threatening have had their worthless career. We have dangers now upon us, and unless we meet them by using the authority and power of the State for a redress of our grievances and as a means of safety, there must be an end to our *honor and our independence*. It has been said, that if a Black-republican President is elected in 1860, then we ought to act. We have now a President of our own choosing. What, are political charlatans stupid enough to resort to this senseless subterfuge? The federal government is virtually in the hands of our oppressors, and if there had not been already the amplest proof that the laws of the federal government never had been conceived or executed with justice to the interests of the Southern States, surely we must see that there cannot be in the future any other course of action than a direct and constant warfare on our honor, our rights, and our interests. There is a hope of driving back this Northern horde by touching their interests. All other suggestions have signally failed. We can try a retaliatory measure upon their commerce with a fair prospect of success. If it serves the purposes which are intended, well; if it does not, we are not hurt by the experiment.

The suggestions which have been made are simple and plain, and involve no constitutional questions. I would farther suggest to you to instruct the senators and request the representatives of Virginia in the Congress of the United States, to demand the unconditional repeal of the navigation laws, by which foreign vessels are excluded from the coasting trade, and also the tonnage duties applicable to some nations with whom we ought to be at liberty to trade, without restriction. The people of Virginia and the South, can have no interest in continuing a policy designed to foster Yankee ship-builders and ship-owners. The repeal of the fishing bounties is demanded by every consideration of self-respect and justice. To show the power to create a discrimination against the importations and productions of the Northern States which are consumed in Virginia, through the license tax on the merchants of the State, and to convince every one of the authority of the State on the subject, reference is made to the opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, as found in Howard's Reports, vol. v., from page 505 and forward, where the question is viewed in every light, and the clear opinion is announced which covers the whole ground. The law should prevent individual citizens of this State from buying and bringing into the State any goods or other articles from any of the Northern States, unless they pay the same taxes which the merchant is required to pay upon his sales of the same articles in Virginia; for the merchant being obliged to buy the privilege of selling from the State, he ought to have the market. Care should be taken to guard from this tax, such goods as may be bought in Virginia to go into any other State. We should also exempt all the productions of the slave States which may adopt our policy from the operations of this tax and none others. We should maintain our present policy of exempting direct importations from State taxation on their sale in the State. The operations of section 19, in the tax bill of March 18th, 1856, may be seen in the following custom-house returns at the port of Richmond, viz. :

There were registered vessels owned in Richmond—

In Foreign Trade.

1855—Four vessels. Tonnage.....	1,407 tons.
1859—Thirteen vessels. Tonnage.....	4,119 "

In Coasting Trade.

Enrolled vessels over 150 tons.

1855—Twelve vessels. Tonnage.....	2,694 tons.
1859—Eight vessels. Tonnage.....	2,058 "

	<i>Bags.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Coffee imported into Richmond, July 1, 1855.....	5,960	\$130,515
Coffee imported into Richmond, July 1, 1859.....	36,653	563,076
Flour exported from Richmond, July 1, 1855.....	80,355 bbls.	801,700
Flour exported from Richmond, July 1, 1859.....	245,744 "	1,853,988

We should require the pilots to enter upon *every* vessel from any Northern free State, and to continue on her into and out of port; remaining on her during her stay in the waters of Virginia at the charge of the vessel; making the voluntary principle on the subject of pilotage, applicable to all other vessels at moderate charges. Cut the banks off from dealing in foreign or domestic exchanges; do

these things and invite a Southern convention of all the slave States, and you will do more real good to the permanent interests of Virginia, than did the men of '98 and '99. But fail to adopt these or other equally efficient measures, and not only will your constituents be disappointed, but the people of the South may reproach you with the loss of an opportunity which you cannot recall, and in which circumstances of an imposing character demand that we should lead in the vindication of rights common to all the Southern States. You have the power to shatter to atoms the merchantmen, which, loaded with kidnappers and thieves, have for many years infested our waters; yea, and poisoned the land by that commerce which, instead of having built on the Chesapeake a Tyre or Sidon, has sent over the State mists and clouds of vassalage and venality. Do fear and cowardice take hold of you? Two hundred thousand men ready to take up arms, are on the soil of Virginia; one million will obey your invitation from the other Southern States. Every portion of the North is anti-slavery, and he that will be blind enough to refuse to admit this fact, and to know that we cannot expect friendship in that quarter, is too credulous to the hypocritical farce which a few of the Yankees are now endeavoring to play off upon our generosity in their public meetings, in every one of which, selfishness alone, has been the beginning and the end. If we can learn anything, we ought surely to see that unless we *now* resist, we are doomed beyond any question; for twenty-five years has proclaimed, each in its passing away, as loud as the thunder peal and as clear as the blaze of the midday sun, one incessant attack upon the institutions of the South. Will nothing ever move us? Have we no care for ourselves or those who are to come after us?

But I will use the opportunity to say that our system of education—the sum of which is, the University of Virginia—should not be neglected. It is the glory of every State—and should be ours—that, in the midst of every vicissitude, the mind should be well cultivated. No State has more to pride itself upon, in the United States, than Virginia has—for we possess the best University for American youths in the world, besides other schools and colleges in every part of the State of a very high order. We must, at least, build the houses necessary for the students who seek our soil for education. At the present time, only about one third of the students can be lodged in the university buildings. In addition to this, there ought to be collected at the university, the fossils and minerals of our State, for the physical sciences are rising in importance every day. It is worthy of most serious consideration, whether sound policy and true wisdom will not justify the commonwealth of Virginia in consolidating the Medical college of Virginia and the university, and throw both schools open to our own sons and to the sons of the entire South gratuitously. The prize before us is worthy of any effort, to wit: to educate, and, through that highest of all channels, exercise an influence for good on every Southern State. If Virginia will, from her educational system, send into the avenues now open in her own and the Southern States, well-educated gentlemen and ladies, her generosity

in offering the highest educational system gratuitously to her sisters and their children, would give her an additional attraction, even in the bosoms of her own sons. Our military preparations need not be very extensive, nor proceeded with in the expectation that a dissolution of the Union even will bring on civil, servile, or any other kind of warfare. There is nothing so absurd as such an idea. There is not in the world a power which can make war on cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco. He is but little versed in the history of the world, who does not know that the Southern slave States, reaping the fruits of their own toil, and united by bonds of interest, and a unity of destiny, might rationally conclude that a degree of prosperity, greater than the world has ever known, would await us in a separation from the selfish and contemptible horde that have fattened on our bounty till they have degenerated into revilers and slanderers; for we have made the Northern States wealthy and powerful, besides supporting ourselves in comparative ease and opulence. If we now turn the stream that has enriched them, we shall surely not be any poorer by the change, and unless all anticipations are false, it must greatly augment the wealth, power and glory of the South. But there is not in all the catalogue of human virtues, a single one that should, in the present crisis, rank higher than action. I wish to see Virginia clutch in her right hand the sceptre of American commerce, while in her left she offers the enchanting casket in which are the gems of education, liberty, and religion, to her own children, and to the people of the other Southern States. For the traveller through the deserts, there is a compass flower which ever points its petals to the pole, a sure guide to those who will obey its direction. Virginia, who led the advance guard for our Independence in that great conflict for Constitutional Republicanism, for the rights of conscience, for Christianity, and for those eternal principles of right and justice that nerved our fathers in their day of trial, sees the storm of fanaticism throwing its sirocco blast over the length and breadth of the confederation. While all North of us is darkness, as nearer and nearer comes the shock of the contending passions of fanaticism and folly against reason, law, and Christianity, let Virginia, our mother, taking the word of the living and eternal God as her compass-flower, point the Southern States and people the road to safety—as she proclaims the saving principle for States and nations, do no wrong nor suffer any.

May Virginia, as the honored and trusted leader in this conflict, and in every other where constitutional Republicanism and Southern institutions shall require her services, act her whole duty cheerfully, with so much wisdom, as that she can appeal with confidence to justice and truth in Heaven, and upon earth, for the ratification and approval of all she does.

ART. VII.—MINNESOTA—HER PROGRESS AND HER BRIGHT FUTURE.

MINNESOTA, during the few months of her existence as a State, has indeed had occasion to try the uses of adversity. That monetary crisis, which scattered ruin through the commercial world in 1857, would, for obvious reasons, be more severe and disastrous in a young frontier State, than elsewhere. Not having yet arrived at that stage when our community was self-sustaining, we were greatly dependent upon the wealth of our immigration, and the money of capitalists from abroad, sent here for profitable investment. Numbers of our adventurous and hopeful people had embarked in magnificent projects, and enterprises of great pith and moment, with scarcely any capital of their own beyond their strong arms and stout hearts. Many of our farmers were still in debt for their farms, their stock, or improvements, and few of them produced more than enough for their own consumption. We imported everything we had occasion to use. A very large proportion of the population was engaged in trade and more or less legitimate speculation. Such, indeed, has been the earlier condition of every State in the thriving West.

Upon such a community, the sudden withdrawal of that credit upon which it had relied, the checking of immigration, the prostration of business, and all the consequences of a financial revulsion, must be more lasting and injurious. Legislation is powerless to cure such evils. The remedy lies in the people; and in and for them, beyond the clouds of to-day, there is a future, bright with promise.

Contrast the condition of the State of Minnesota, to-day, with that of the Territory of Minnesota, ten years ago. Then, no thriving towns dotted our fertile prairies, or welcomed the steamboat to their crowded levees; no steamboats daily ploughed our navigable waters; no mills on every stream converted the monarchs of the forest into lumber, or the cereal growth into flour; and the unfurrowed fields smiled with no bountiful harvests. The population of the territory scarcely reached five thousand, and the total valuation of property was but little over eight hundred thousand dollars.

The present population is probably one hundred and eighty thousand. The assessed value of taxable property for 1858 was over forty millions of dollars. In other words, the population has, on the average, doubled every two years, and our wealth has increased even more rapidly. If we look at the business and enterprise of the State, the growth has been no less vigorous. The following statistics are prepared from a township canvass, embracing nearly every district, and are undoubtedly reliable. They show the present extent of our farming interest, which will always be the leading one, and also the fitness and capabilities of our soil and climate for agricultural purposes.

Whole area under cultivation, 1859.....	464,600 acres.
Number of farms.....	21,533
Average of tilled land per farm.....	21½ acres.

326 MINNESOTA—HER PROGRESS AND HER BRIGHT FUTURE.

<i>Products of 1859.</i>	
Bushels of wheat harvested	3,435,950
" corn	3,476,950
" oats	3,309,480
" potatoes about	3,000,000

Exports of Grain and Produce from the River Towns of Minnesota.

Wheat.....	372,625 bushels.
Oats	175,500 "
Corn.....	47,742 "
Potatoes.....	117,000 "

In addition to the above exports, a great deal of produce of the Southern tier of counties was shipped from ports in Iowa. Cranberries and ginseng are gathered for exportation, but they hardly pertain to agriculture. Wool already begins to form an article of exportation. Hides form a considerable item, and butter is exported to some extent.

The aggregate value of the total products of wheat, oats, corn and potatoes at the average current prices during the fall, amounts to about four millions of dollars, and the value of the exports, to four hundred thousand dollars. About 3,000,000 of bushels of wheat, harvested last year, are yet within the State. 1,000,000 of bushels are surely sufficient for our home consumption for one year, leaving a surplus still in the State, waiting a market, of 2,000,000 bushels. Calculate the surplus of each other article enumerated above, and estimate the value, and it will appear, that we have an agricultural surplus, the production of the tenth year of our existence, worth probably two millions of dollars.

The question of providing an outlet to a market, for this and a future greater surplus, will hereafter demand consideration. It is apparent at a glance, with what relief we should be sensibly affected, if what we have to sell could find a cheap and speedy transit to those who have to buy.

The average yield of wheat per acre, for the past year, in this State, was over twenty bushels. This, which is nearly double the average yield in the so-called wheat-growing States, indicates either an extraordinary year, or a better adaptation of soil and climate to wheat culture. Probably the season has been unusually productive, but it has long been claimed, by those who have had the opportunity to know, that Minnesota does, in fact, surpass the other Mississippi States, in that particular.

The statistics of manufactures, though less complete, are not less encouraging. The following is a statement of exports of lumber, logs &c., from Minnesota:

	<i>From St. Anthony.</i>	<i>St. Croix Valley.</i>
Sawed lumber.....	3,000,000 ft.	30,000,000 ft.
Laths.....	4,100,000 ft.	15,000,000 ft.
Shingles.....	5,200,000 ft.	1,000,000 ft.
Logs.....	31,000,000 ft.	40,000,000 ft.
Long lumber.....	9,490,993 ft.	

Value of exports at place of shipment:

33,000,000 feet sawed lumber at \$8 per M.....	\$264,000
19,000,000 laths at \$1 25	23,750
6,200,000 shingles at \$2 50.....	15,500
71,000,000 logs, at \$4 00.....	284,000
9,490,993 long lumber	99,649
Total.....	686,800

The surveyor-general of the first lumber district, reports as scaled in his district :

Logs.....	65,392,230 ft
Lumber.....	9,143 ft.
Logs unsurveyed, (estimated).....	5,000,000 ft.

The surveyor-general of second district reports :

Logs.....	29,382,000 ft.
Total.....	99,783,373 ft.

The amount scaled in the other districts, is not ascertained.

Such was our commencement, and such has been our growth. Iowa, from 1840 to 1850, quadrupled her population : up to 1859, that State had almost quadrupled the population of 1850. Suppose our progress is only as rapid as that of Iowa during the last named period ; then, in 1870, we shall be a State of between 600,000 and 700,000 inhabitants, with an assessed valuation of property amounting to \$200,000,000. Nor is this improbable. If, while we were few in number, with scarcely any capital, our country unknown, its advantages unnoticed, its productiveness of soil and salubrity of climate, at first unsuspected, then unacknowledged, and at length envied, we have accomplished so much as the record of the past exhibits, what may we not reasonably hope to attain before 1870, having now a capital, a population, a name, and a history ?

The day cannot be far distant, notwithstanding the errors of the past, and the darkness of the present, when Minnesota, guided by wise and prudent counsels, shall be as prosperous in her affairs, as she is blessed of Heaven in her advantages.

ART. VIII.—USURY LAWS.

I HAVE noticed with pleasure, Mr. Editor, in your December number, an article against the repeal of the usury laws. I agree with the writer in the main, and in consideration that so much has been written and spoken for years past against the new usury laws, and so little in their favor, beg leave to add something more in their favor.

The idea—the controlling idea with those who advocate such repeal, and of the ablest political economists likewise, if I mistake not, is, that money is like any other property, and like any other property should bring what it is worth : that is to say, if a horse would bring \$150, you should not prohibit the owner from taking that sum and force him to take \$125 ; so if money be worth 10 per cent., you should not force the owner to take 5 per cent.—that price of money, or interest, should be left unrestricted by legislative enactment, like the price of everything else.

The false conclusion follows from a false assumption that money is like any other property. So far from being true, the very reverse is true. Money is *unlike* any other property. It is, and was intended to be, the standard of value for all other property. We do not, when we speak of the value of a horse, or other property, say it is worth

so many sheep or hogs, but so much money. And now, having shown the fallacy of the premises, the conclusion based upon it, or deduced from it, is of course untenable.

In a moral point of view, the repeal, sir, cannot be sustained. For if a principle or policy be sound or correct, carry it out to its results. Usury laws at one time did not exist in Alabama: such was the enormous rate of interest demanded, that the moral sense was shocked, and such contracts were set aside. Here, then, the result was such as to shock the moral sense, thus demonstrating the immorality of repealing the usury laws, as now contended for. No doubt such cases have occurred elsewhere. No doubt to the knowledge of many men, cases have occurred where the rate was so exorbitant, as to merit their condemnation though never made public. And as the writer in your REVIEW contends, the idea of restricting the rate of interest, consists well with the Bible. No: I should rather say to be consistent with its teachings, no interest at all should be allowed for the use or loan of money.

There never was a wiser lawgiver than Moses, and he allowed his people to take interest from those only who were not of his people. The Israelites could not take interest one from another, though they might from the Gentile. And when that auspicious era dawned, when the Messiah came, there was to be neither Jew nor Gentile, but all Christians, and, of necessity, the right given by Moses to require interest ceased. This is shown by the writer referred to in your REVIEW, to consist well with the teachings of the New Testament. I know the term used in the Bible is *usury*, not interest; but in truth, all interest is usury—the sum per cent. allowed for the *use* of money. What the law allows, we term interest; more than this, we term usury.

I know it is contended, that usury laws embarrass commerce, and as it has been beautifully said, “commerce is the harbinger of civilization.” It may also be truthfully said, commerce panders to cupidity, cultivates avarice the most sordid of all vices. And while it may be said commerce established upon the bosom of the waters the city of Venice, and made it for a time the home of a brave heroic people, it may also be said, that there, as well as at Florence, the power of commerce and its merchant princes crushed out liberty. But I cannot think the usury laws embarrass commerce as much as the disregard of them, for an argument much relied upon is, that they might as well be repealed, for they are disregarded; so they argue, and I contend it is this disregard of those laws, which has engendered a reckless spirit of speculation that produces a commercial crisis. I believe if no interest were allowed, there would be no banks of discount; but in their place, banks of deposit; the only legitimate banks; and if there were no banks of discount, there would be comparatively few if any of those fluctuations which not only embarrass commerce, but all the other great interests of the country.

Be this, however, as it may, whenever I see the effort made to abolish usury laws, I think of Shylock, and think I see evidence of the divine truth, “The love of money is the root of all evil.” One

thing is certain, if it be desired to use money in the language the beautiful expression employed, that it may "seek its level like water," you must, as is done in regard to the great life-preserving fluid, without which no living thing could move or have its being—put no price upon the use of it. Of course the argument does not apply where one owes a debt not based upon the loan of money.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—COTTON IN EUROPE.

The apprehension in Europe is not that the supply of American cotton will exceed the demand, for they admit that 4,000,000 bales from us can be readily consumed; but should that figure be exceeded, and the East Indies contribute liberally, it is thought the productive power of the world will have surpassed that of the machinery and labor at present available for manufacturing. Says the *London Circular*:

The chief difficulty seems to lie in the inability of the world to manufacture, rather than consume, at moderate prices, so vast a quantity; for, notwithstanding the spindles and looms have been pushed to their utmost immediate capacity, they have not been able to supply promptly their constantly pressing demand, even at prices above any former period for twenty years.

There is no apparent cause at the moment to raise a doubt as to the continuance of this prosperity. In Europe there is cheap money, abundance of food at low prices, and profitable employment for all classes; while the enormous consumption of the East Indies is likely to remain in full force under the stimulating influence of the stream of precious metals, which has flowed continuously for some years to that quarter.

Cotton Statistics of Great Britain.

	1859.	1858.	1857.	1856.	1854.
Received from America	2,098,000	1,863,000	1,482,000	1,758,000	1,667,000
" " Brazil	118,000	106,000	168,000	122,000	107,000
" " West Indies	7,000	7,000	11,000	30,000	8,000
" " Egypt	100,000	106,000	76,000	114,000	81,000
" " East Indies	511,000	361,000	680,000	464,000	304,000
Bales received into Britain	2,829,000	2,443,000	2,417,000	2,468,000	2,167,000
Exported	437,000	348,000	337,000	358,000	316,000
Stock at the close of each year	470,000	372,000	452,000	332,000	624,000
Taken for Home Consumption	2,294,000	2,174,000	1,960,000	2,282,000	1,944,000
Average Weekly Consumption	44,115	41,820	37,708	43,518	37,384
Price of Middling Orleans, June 30,	6½d.	7d.	8d.	6 3-16d.	5 7-16d.
Price of Middling Orleans, December 31	6½d.	7d.	6½d.	7½d.	5d.
Taken on Speculation	370,000	547,000	594,000	866,000	486,000
Total Crop of the United States	3,851,000	3,114,000	2,940,000	3,528,000	2,930,000
Consumption of the United States	790,000	590,000	702,000	653,000	611,000
Average Weight per Bale of Imports into Great Britain	423 lbs.	412 lbs.	401 lbs.	407 lbs.	401 lbs.

2.—TRADE OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

Exports from Charleston, S. C., to Foreign Ports, for the year ending December 31, 1859.

1st quarter 1859, January, February and March,.....	\$5,954,842
2d " " April, May and June,.....	4,051,260
3d " " July, August and September,.....	1,907,843
4th " " October, November and December,.....	6,054,474
	<u>\$17,968,418</u>

Imports into Charleston, S. C., for the year ending December 31, 1859.

1st quarter 1859, January, February and March,.....	\$563,714
2d " " April, May and June,.....	266,457
3d " " July, August and September,.....	348,225
4th " " October, November and December,.....	418,739
	<u>\$1,596,135</u>

Exports for 1858..... [Larger than 1859].....	\$19,321,585
Imports for 1858..... [Smaller than 1859].....	912,523

3.—OUR TRADE WITH CUBA.

The following figures show the value of the trade between the United States and Cuba during the ten years, ending June 30, 1858 :

Years.	Domestic Exports.	Foreign Exports.	Total Exports.	Total Imports.
1849.....	\$4,641,845	\$668,068	\$5,309,913	\$10,650,956
1850.....	4,530,256	460,041	4,990,297	10,292,398
1851.....	5,239,026	1,284,847	6,524,123	17,046,931
1852.....	5,803,196	714,351	6,517,551	17,861,729
1853.....	5,773,419	514,540	6,287,959	18,585,755
1854.....	8,228,116	323,656	8,551,732	18,124,339
1855.....	7,667,119	307,463	8,004,582	18,625,339
1856.....	7,190,035	610,228	7,800,263	24,335,693
1857.....	9,379,572	5,548,861	14,923,438	45,243,101
1858.....	11,673,167	2,760,024	14,433,191	27,214,846
Total.....	\$70,074,301	\$13,277,163	\$83,351,364	\$207,090,085

Our traffic with Cuba is composed chiefly of sugar, molasses, cigars and tobacco for imports, and oils, fish, provisions, breadstuffs, lumber, staves, iron, vegetables, and manufactures of wood, for exports. In 1857 we took of her six hundred millions pounds of sugar, at \$33,200,000, and twenty-seven millions gallons molasses, at \$6,800,000, and tobacco and cigars for \$3,500,000 more, and we paid her about nine millions in produce and manufactures, five millions in foreign coin, and thirty millions in bills on England, which we afterward shipped domestic gold to meet.

4.—THE FUR TRADE OF ST. LOUIS.

The fur trade of St. Louis last year exceeded over half a million of dollars. More than three fifths of the sum is the product of buffalo robes, which are sold at an average of about \$4 each, at first cost; 120,000 coon skins, 68 cents each; 37,000 mink skins, \$1 60 each; 120,000 pounds deer skins, 22½ cents per pound; 10,800 wolf skins, 90 cents; 34,500 opossum skins, 18 cents each; 1,100 otter skins, \$2 85 each; 4,000 fox skins, 30 cents each; 5,500 muskrat skins, 28 cents each; 2,000 wildcat skins, 25 cents each—the whole making a total of \$559,422 50. The St. Louis Democrat says in regard to the buffalo robes, that it is an interesting fact, and new to many, that all these buffalo robes are dressed by Indian squaws, scattered over the great West. The number of robes is decreasing annually, not so much by the lessening of the immense buffalo herds, as by the extinction of the Indian race, or the occupancy of their grounds by the whites. Some years as high as 120,000 robes were brought to St. Louis—usually about 110,000—but this year only 85,000, besides the buffalo calf skins, which are also quite numerous.

5.—COMMERCE OF BALTIMORE.

We have on numerous occasions recommended Baltimore as a fitting and proper mart for the conduct of Southern trade, and are always glad to chronicle its prosperity, despite of the fact that the merchants of Baltimore neither subscribe to our REVIEW nor advertise in its pages, though solicited very frequently to do so as a means of understanding Southern opinion and reaching Southern customers. Even Boston has done more for the REVIEW in these respects than Baltimore, we are forced in candor to say. This, however, has nothing to do with our present purpose, which is to show from the recent Annual Report of the *Prices Current* in how prosperous condition is the commerce of Baltimore.

The aggregate commerce of the city for the past year is estimated at \$150,000,000. The greatest article is dry goods, estimated at thirty millions; the next, ready-made clothing, seven millions; sugar, seven millions; boots and shoes, three millions six hundred thousand; books, three millions; grain, seven millions; flour, five millions; leather, three millions. The foreign exports have fallen off about a million and a half, and the foreign imports increased about two millions and a half. The *American*, speaking of the trade generally, says, "though the year has not been with Baltimore, in common with other commercial centres, one of marked prosperity, yet the general result has been satisfactory."

The *Prices Current* uses the following language, which properly appeals to the patriotism of the South:

"We have been reading and hearing, for some years, that it was the desire and intention of Southern merchants to withdraw their patronage from the abolition cities of the North, to those having a common interest in the maintenance of the peculiar institution. As yet, we do not see that this principle has been carried out to any marked extent, and we should scarcely refer to it now but for the fact that since the outrage at Harper's Ferry, it has been avowed upon all hands as the determination of the South to practise a stern and uncompromising system of non-intercourse. The claims which Baltimore has always urged and sustained, wholly independent of such considerations, should secure her, we think, a larger share of Southern trade than she now commands; and if there be any practical meaning in these declarations, the results must soon be plainly manifest in a largely increased business with that section of our country. For domestic dry goods, for provisions, for manufactured tobacco, for groceries, liquors, flour, and other almost equally indispensable articles to the Southern merchant and planter, there is no market north of Baltimore—and we challenge a contradiction of these facts—that can offer greater advantages or better terms to purchasers; and if there be any minor obstacles in the way, these can be promptly removed upon a proper encouragement to trade. We call upon Southern merchants, therefore, if they mean what they say, to test the truth of our assertions.

Imports of Coffee, Sugar, Molasses and Salt.

	1859.	1858.	1857.
Coffee, Rio, bags,.....	230,984	188,019	203,560
Coffee, Laguayra, bags,.....	5,348	11,158	4,077
Sugar, foreign, hhds,.....	21,787	26,838	27,403
Sugar, coastwise, hhds,....	20,760	16,584	6,354
Molasses, foreign, hhds,....	8,518	6,860	9,340
Molasses, coastwise, hhds,....		700	774
Molasses, coastwise, bbls,....	14,701	13,790	3,109
Salt, Liverpool, sacks,.....	152,760	149,822	122,219
Salt, Turk's Island, bushels,....	55,690	116,260	85,347
Salt, coastwise, sacks,.....	1,290	14,127	7,260

Number and Class of Foreign Vessels arrived at this Port the past Year, and compared with two previous years.

FLAG.	Ships.	Barks.	Briga.	Schra.	Total 1859.	Total 1858.	Total 1857.
British.....	6	15	83	55	159	160	116
Bremen.....	21	7	..	..	28	31	45
Prussian.....	6	..	..	..	6	5	2
Oldenburg.....	..	2	..	..	2	2	1
Hamburg.....	..	1	..	..	1	1	1
Sicilian.....	..	..	2	..	2	1	1
Austrian.....	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
French.....	1	..	..	..	1	..	1
Brazilian.....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Danish.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Other nations.....	..	..	..	1	1	4	5
Total.....	35	25	87	56	203	204	172

EXPORTS FROM BALTIMORE.

A Comparative Table of the Principal Articles exported from the Port of Baltimore to Foreign Ports for the past three years.

ARTICLES.	1859.	1858.	1857.
Apples, barrels.....	184	260	55
Bark, Oak, value.....	44,697	92,040	107,709
Bread, kegs, barrels.....	29,253	31,163	25,617
Beef, tierces.....	1,006	101	553
Beef, barrels.....	3,836	3,203	2,366
Bacon, pounds.....	728,063	567,700	4,208,632
Butter, pounds.....	496,727	499,995	375,400
Cheese, pounds.....	155,609	220,359	235,520
Corn, bushels.....	123,157	446,758	353,954
Coal, tons.....	18,908	8,309	10,278
Chairs, &c., value.....	28,000	50,000	50,000
Cotton, bales.....	20	..	164
Coffee, pounds.....	54,088	44,149	418,293
Corn Meal, barrels.....	49,884	55,328	46,059
Candles, pounds.....	768,700	705,376	800,000
Domestics, value.....	514,148	270,748	341,432
Duck, value.....	32,130	39,083	35,604
Fish, Cod, value.....	41,575	52,620	40,785
Fish, Mackerel, barrels.....	600	1,224	820
Flour, Wheat, barrels.....	362,396	474,823	458,023
Flour, Rye, barrels.....	758	1,166	2,147
Lumber, value.....	376,576	6,280	2,377
Lard, pounds.....	2,348,213	2,832,912	2,614,782
Oil, Whale, gallons.....	10,564	8,664	3,021
Oil, Meal, value.....	64,259	18,321	39,297
Pork, tierces.....	80	..	..
Pork, barrels.....	15,370	18,264	11,140
Rye, Oats and other small grain, value.....	31,889	33,916	25,856
Rosin, barrels.....	25,443	15,702	21,576
Rum, gallons.....	3,781	8,000	7,663
Rice, tierces.....	2,138	2,483	1,102
Rice, barrels.....	3,378	1,977	4,613
Spirits Turpentine, gallons.....	37,657	11,807	20,500
Shooks, &c., value.....	95,000	100,500	97,801
Staves, thousands.....	1,280	1,391	1,144
Sugar, refined, pounds.....	1,101,631	730,105	692,851
Sugar, brown, pounds.....	26,181	3,534	80,884
Soap, pounds.....	180,778	92,286	240,000
Tobacco, leaf, hogsheads.....	55,280	62,274	49,301
Tobacco, manufactured, pounds.....	404,428	416,201	297,356
Whiskey, gallons.....	20,143	86,000	127,854
Wax, pounds.....	206	24,714	23,423
Wheat, bushels.....	18,293	130,196	176,414

COMMERCE OF BALTIMORE.

333

Imports and Exports of Baltimore.

	Imports.	Exports.		Imports.	Exports.
1842.....	\$4,052,250	\$4,448,946	1851.....	\$7,243,963	\$6,406,160
1843.....	5,007,753	4,740,045	1852.....	8,973,021	7,549,768
1844.....	4,251,883	4,622,065	1853.....	6,331,671	9,086,910
1845.....	3,356,670	6,256,273	1854.....	7,750,387	11,306,012
1846.....	4,238,760	6,710,556	1855.....	7,772,691	11,675,906
1847.....	4,146,743	9,826,479	1856.....	10,146,826	13,362,252
1848.....	5,245,894	7,209,609	1857.....	11,054,676	11,398,940
1849.....	5,291,566	8,660,982	1858.....	7,954,422	10,235,880
1850.....	6,417,113	8,530,971	1859.....	10,408,993	8,637,742

Foreign Imports and Exports at the Port of Baltimore, 1859.

Imports of foreign merchandise, free goods.....	\$5,479,592
“ “ “ dutiable.....	4,928,461
Total Imports.....	\$10,408,993
Exports of domestic produce in American vessels.....	\$5,605,958
“ “ “ in foreign vessels.....	2,916,293
Total exports of domestic produce.....	\$8,522,251
Exports of foreign merchandise in American vessels.....	\$152,806
“ “ “ in foreign vessels.....	49,204
Total exports of foreign merchandise.....	202,010
Total exports for year.....	\$8,724,261

Exports of Tobacco from the Port of Baltimore for the last thirteen years.

YEARS.	Bremen.	Rotter- dam.	Amster- dam.	France.	All other places.	Total.
1859.....	19,180	21,735	1,253	8,311	5,495	55,974
1858.....	16,542	18,059	3,825	16,935	11,173	66,534
1857.....	18,034	11,711	4,054	7,438	6,325	47,562
1856.....	20,612	14,215	7,779	4,801	8,361	55,798
1855.....	9,103	7,510	10	7,527	1,444	36,392
1854.....	18,016	7,407	5,583	10,180	4,006	45,192
1853.....	18,947	10,395	9,980	5,380	5,988	50,688
1852.....	22,860	11,473	5,067	7,679	7,734	54,813
1851.....	12,654	9,694	4,154	2,327	5,292	34,124
1850.....	15,864	7,815	5,973	8,177	6,940	44,368
1849.....	18,821	13,783	8,725	9,662	1,033	51,924
1848.....	12,787	7,910	3,103	5,761	131	38,890
1847.....	22,967	7,819	11,398	7,888	1,895	53,480

Prices of Maryland, Ohio and Kentucky Tobacco on the 15th of January, and about the same day each alternate month, 1859.

	Jan. 15.	March 15.	May 15.	July 15.	Sept. 15.	Nov. 15.
<i>Maryland.</i>						
Inferior and frosted.....	— a —	— a —	2½ a 3	2½ a 3	2½ a 3	1½ a 2
Common.....	4 a 4½	3½ a 4½	3 a 3½	3 a 3½	3 a 3½	2½ a 3
Good common.....	5½ a 5½	5½ a 5½	4 a 4½	4 a 4½	4 a 4½	3½ a 4
Middling.....	6 a 6½	6 a 6½	5 a 5½	5 a 5½	5 a 5½	4½ a 5½
Good to fine brown.....	7 a 8	7 a 10	6 a 10	6 a 10	6 a 10	6 a 10
Colony.....	9 a 10	9 a 10	8 a 13	9½ a 13	9½ a 13	10 a 13
Ground leaves.....	3 a 7	3 a 5½	2½ a 4	2½ a 4	2½ a 4	3 a 6
Upper Country.....	nominal.	nominal.	— a —	3 a 18	3 a 18	3 a 18
<i>Ohio.</i>						
Inferior to good common.....	6 a 6½	6 a 6½	5 a 6	5 a 6	5 a 6	3 a 4
Red and spangled.....	7 a 7½	7 a 7½	6½ a 7½	6½ a 7½	6½ a 7½	5 a 6½
Good and fine red and span.....	8 a 9	8 a 9	8 a 9	8 a 9	8 a 9	7 a 8
Good and fine yellow.....	10 a 15	10 a 15	10 a 13	9 a 13	9 a 13	9 a 12
<i>Kentucky.</i>						
Heavy and light lugs.....	nominal.	5½ a 6	5 a 5½	4½ a 4½	4 a 4½	4 a 4½
Common to fair leaf.....	nominal.	6½ a 7	6 a 6½	5½ a 6½	5½ a 6½	5 a 5½
Good.....	nominal.	7½ a 8	7 a 7½	6½ a 6½	6½ a 6½	6½ a 6½
Fine.....	nominal.	8½ a 9	8 a 8½	7½ a 8½	7½ a 8½	7½ a 8½
Choice heavy and light.....	nominal.	10 a 13	10 a 12	9 a 11	9 a 12	9 a 12

6.—COMMERCE WITH THE PACIFIC.

At the last session of Congress, Mr. Ward, of New-York, made a very able speech in advocacy of Government aid to the proposed *Atrato Canal*, intended to connect the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific through the republic of New Granada. Our readers will recollect that we published, several years ago, an able paper in advocacy of this canal from the pen of F. M. Kelly, Esq., and we are glad, in addition, to extract some of the statistics of Mr. Ward's speech. The estimated cost of the canal is \$73,687,141 :

Table showing the Trade of the United States that would pass through the Atrato Canal, if now finished, taken from the Official Returns of the year 1857.

Countries traded with.	Exports and Imports.	Tonnage.
Russian North American possessions.....	\$126,537	5,735
Dutch East Indies.....	904,550	16,589
British Australia and New Zealand.....	4,728,083	82,105
British East Indies.....	11,744,151	177,121
French East Indies.....	98,432	3,665
Half of Mexico.....	9,601,063	34,673
Half of New Granada.....	5,375,354	131,708
Central America.....	425,081	36,599
Chili.....	6,645,634	63,749
Peru.....	716,679	193,131
Ecuador.....	48,979	1,979
Sandwich Islands.....	1,151,849	33,876
China.....	12,752,062	123,578
Other ports in Asia and Pacific.....	80,143	4,549
Whale fisheries.....	10,796,090	116,730
California to East United States.....	35,000,000*	861,698
Value of cargoes.....	100,294,687	1,857,485
Value of ships.....	92,874,250	at \$50 per ton.
Total value of ships and cargoes.....	\$193,168,937	\$92,874,250

Table showing the Trade of England that would pass through the Atrato Canal if now finished, taken from the Official Returns for 1856.

Countries traded with.	Exports and Imports.	Tonnage.
Half of Mexico.....	\$2,775,137	11,833
Half of Central America.....	1,244,817	5,615
Half of New Granada.....	2,437,605	10,188
Chili.....	15,486,110	118,311
Peru.....	20,473,520	244,319
Ecuador.....	560,015	1,820
China.....	7,077,390	68,530
Java.....	3,821,410	16,003
Singapore.....	4,364,070	10,500
Australia and New Zealand.....	78,246,095	522,426
Sandwich Islands.....	520,560	1,950
California.....	2,378,105	11,800
Value of trade.....	139,184,834	1,029,295
Value of ships.....	51,464,750	at \$50 per ton.
Total value, trade and ships.....	\$190,649,584	\$51,464,750

Table showing the Trade of France that would pass through the Atrato Canal, if now finished, taken from the Official Returns for the year 1857.

Countries traded with.	Exports and Imports.	Tonnage.
Chili.....	\$10,000,000	25,688
Peru.....	13,160,000	85,096
Half of Mexico.....	2,790,000	10,004

Exclusive of gold dust.

Countries traded with.	Exports and Imports.	Tonnage.
Half of New Granada.....	\$1,000,000	2,830
Ecuador.....	440,000	1,651
Bolivia.....	100,000	1,000
California.....	2,073,859	8,997
China.....	2,180,000	2,028
Dutch East Indies.....	4,440,000	20,400
Sandwich Islands.....	2,000,000	4,119
Philippine Islands.....	1,000,000	1,463
Australia.....	19,800,000	50,000
Value of cargoes.....	50,073,859	162,735
Value of ships.....	8,136,750	at \$50 per ton.
Total value.....	\$67,210,609	\$8,136,750

Table showing the Total Tonnage that would pass yearly through the Atrato Canal, if now finished, from Official Returns :

United States.....	1,857,485 tons.
England.....	1,029,295 "
France.....	162,735 "
Other countries.....	44,555 "
	3,094,070 tons,

Table showing the general Results of the foregoing Tables :

Tonnage and trade of United States.....	\$193,168,937
" " England.....	190,649,650
" " France.....	67,210,609
" " other countries.....	16,802,000
Total trade affected by the canal...	\$467,831,296

Table showing the saving to the Trade of the World by using the Atrato Canal :

United States.....	\$35,995,930
England.....	9,950,348
France.....	2,183,930
Other countries.....	*1,500,000
Total.....	\$49,530,208

Exports of Great Britain increased one hundred and seven per cent. in ten years. Exports of France increased one hundred and thirty per cent. in ten years. Exports of the United States increased ninety-three per cent. in ten years. The average increase is one hundred and ten per cent. in ten years. If the trade increases one hundred per cent. in the next ten years, the saving to the world will then be \$99,060,416 per annum.

7.—COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES FOR 1858-'59.

COUNTRIES.	COMMERCE.			
	Domestic produce.	Foreign produce.	Total	Imports.
	Exports.	Exports.	Exports.	
Russia on the Baltic and North Seas. . .	\$5,546,155	\$104,268	\$5,650,423	\$849,759
Asiatic Russia.....	35,109	10,654	45,763	2,819
Russian Possessions in North America . .	6,121	12,048	18,169	25,257
Prussia.....				
Sweden and Norway.....	1,373,010	3,294	1,376,304	537,542
Swedish West Indies.....	72,130	471	72,601	20,613
Denmark.....	71,166	140	71,306	11,530
Danish West Indies.....	919,632	60,939	980,571	286,188
Hamburg.....	2,933,968	670,300	3,604,268	8,071,964
Bremen.....	11,973,600	564,348	12,537,948	9,694,377

*Equated from the trade of England, France, and the United States.

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES FOR 1858-'59—CONTINUED.

COUNTRIES.	COMMERCE.			
	Domestic produce.	Foreign produce.	Total	Imports.
	Exports.	Exports..	Exports.	
Other German Ports.....	35,742		35,742	
Holland.....	4,497,241	209,742	4,706,983	4,397,232
Dutch West Indies.....	380,177	24,212	404,389	507,821
Dutch Guiana.....	261,687	9,290	270,977	180,991
Dutch East Indies.....	173,133	157,540	310,673	1,777,374
Belgium.....	3,165,261	1,030,512	4,195,773	8,467,222
England.....	166,078,734	2,707,518	168,786,252	117,915,969
Scotland.....	2,704,596	47,449	2,752,045	7,079,905
Ireland.....	3,372,466	35,100	3,407,566	758,547
Gibraltar.....	265,261	7,739	273,000	66,261
Malta.....	91,239	2,884	94,123	47,723
Canada.....	13,439,667	5,501,125	18,940,792	14,208,717
Other British North American Possessions	8,329,960	883,422	9,213,382	5,518,834
British West Indies.....	5,227,250	61,452	5,288,702	1,909,885
British Honduras.....	329,588	20,418	350,006	264,139
British Guiana.....	1,083,263	1,077	1,084,340	290,580
British Possessions in Africa.....	1,129,193	11,869	1,141,062	1,152,262
British Australia.....	2,864,713	120,173	2,984,886	114,636
British East Indies.....	1,231,893	131,722	1,363,615	8,697,229
France on the Atlantic.....	41,596,397	1,103,602	42,699,999	36,751,771
France on the Mediterranean.....	1,435,076	164,543	1,599,619	4,649,376
French North American Possessions.....	152,365	37,022	189,387	68,797
French West Indies.....	433,278	75,260	508,538	33,504
French Guiana.....	48,049	1,520	49,569	20,557
French Possessions in Africa.....	56,892	3,070	59,962	
Spain on the Atlantic.....	1,207,208	21,659	1,228,867	561,375
Spain on the Mediterranean.....	7,198,134	6,004	7,204,138	2,173,943
Canary Islands.....	106,664	6,027	112,691	28,380
Philippine Islands.....		68,302	68,302	2,880,754
Cuba.....	11,217,268	1,050,934	12,268,202	34,054,424
Porto Rico.....	1,699,326	335,876	2,035,202	4,820,323
Portugal.....	671,120	7,619	678,739	152,339
Madeira.....	44,041		44,041	19,443
Cape de Verd Islands.....	30,644	631	31,274	182
Azores.....	113,928	1,466	115,394	70,877
Sardinia.....	2,957,129	37,864	2,994,993	299,475
Tuscany.....	245,390		245,390	1,294,350
Papal States.....	221,348	950	222,298	5,290
Two Sicilies.....	523,210	52,561	575,771	2,180,629
Austria.....	2,023,936	92,560	2,116,496	571,146
Austrian Possessions in Italy.....	720,160	1,336	721,496	32
Ionian Republic.....				
Greece.....	13,048	2,367	15,415	67,290
Turkey in Europe.....	214,023	1,849	215,872	54,725
Turkey in Asia.....	380,380	21,610	401,990	614,967
Egypt.....	12,210	1,650	13,860	103,399
Other ports in Africa.....	1,577,244	101,106	1,678,350	1,548,710
Hayti.....	2,255,055	229,109	2,484,764	2,666,246
San Domingo.....	18,818	970	19,788	193,390
Mexico.....	2,307,170	685,376	2,992,546	5,339,974
Central Republics.....	120,081	52,481	172,262	580,911
New Granada.....	1,384,194	178,770	1,562,964	2,848,141
Venezuela.....	1,644,271	76,225	1,720,496	4,231,031
Brazil.....	6,929,004	327,972	7,256,976	22,439,842
Uruguay, or Cisplatine Republic.....	595,915	34,441	630,356	774,543
Buenos Ayres, or Argentine Republic.....	1,003,500	434,735	1,438,235	4,070,033
Chili.....	1,751,930	215,394	1,967,324	2,646,800
Bolivia.....	5,355		5,355	
Peru.....	893,857	61,307	955,164	323,894
Ecuador.....	33,908	1,802	35,710	
Sandwich Islands.....	1,007,914	131,069	1,138,983	486,101
Other Islands in the Pacific.....	43,710	2,815	46,525	31,033
Japan.....				295
China.....	4,233,016	2,894,183	7,127,199	10,791,581
Other ports in Asia.....				154,121
Whale Fisheries.....	146,574	2,131	148,705	350,654
Uncertain places.....				68,786
Total.....	335,894,385	20,895,077	356,789,462	338,768,130

8.—FOREIGN COMMERCE OF THE SEVERAL STATES, 1858-'59.

STATES.	American produce.	Foreign produce.	Total Exports.	Imports.	Vessels cleared.	Tons.
Maine.....	\$2,774,418	\$466,491	\$3,240,839	\$2,157,086	1,342	292,781
New Hampshire.....	9,603	125	9,793	23,227	47	4,084
Vermont.....	295,659	840,966	1,136,565	1,802,668	356	24,046
Massachusetts.....	16,036,603	2,122,215	18,158,818	43,184,500	3,755	758,815
Rhode Island.....	292,090	18,723	310,813	1,819,068	119	25,901
Connecticut.....	1,130,069	14,242	1,144,311	491,067	182	35,046
New York.....	104,726,546	12,813,279	117,539,825	229,181,349	9,663	3,830,840
New Jersey.....	21,938	.....	21,938	5,046	19	4,131
Pennsylvania.....	5,278,635	96,591	5,375,226	14,520,331	487	132,965
Delaware.....	49,511	.....	49,511	529	8	1,953
Maryland.....	9,074,511	161,888	9,236,399	9,713,921	602	171,446
Virginia.....	6,715,133	7,029	6,722,162	1,116,199	300	84,748
North Carolina.....	435,409	.....	435,409	168,645	244	39,059
South Carolina.....	17,972,580	.....	17,972,580	2,438,535	427	167,400
Georgia.....	15,562,184	.....	15,562,184	624,645	321	158,194
Alabama.....	28,933,662	.....	28,933,662	788,164	298	206,030
Florida.....	3,128,650	63,712	3,192,362	286,971	331	83,422
Louisiana.....	100,890,689	775,849	101,666,538	18,349,516	1,168	808,248
Texas.....	3,855,879	30	3,853,909	468,162	69	31,970
Ohio.....	263,011	.....	263,011	267,846	416	60,890
Michigan.....	3,624,624	.....	3,624,624	1,067,339	1,574	475,080
Illinois.....	1,269,385	.....	1,269,385	93,588	132	65,899
Wisconsin.....	699,088	.....	699,088	28,946	106	63,260
California.....	12,405,184	3,514,004	15,919,188	11,163,558	521	56,009
Oregon.....	5,000	.....	5,000	2,097	1	449
Wash'n Territory..	444,352	.....	444,352	5,133	221	42,981
Total.....	335,894,385	20,895,077	356,789,462	338,768,130	22,704	7,915,755

DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURES AND MINES.

1.—GEOLOGY OF TEXAS.

GREAT sources of wealth are being brought to light by the geological survey of Texas. Says the Report:

Taking Fort Belknap as a starting point, we have found this formation to extend uninterruptedly southeastwardly to Patrick's creek, in the southwest part of Parker county, a distance of more than sixty miles; westwardly about forty miles, and southwardly beyond Camp Colorado, in Coleman county, say one hundred miles. We have not traced it in its northward extension more than six or eight miles from Fort Belknap, but it is highly probable that it reaches into Archer, Baylor, and Clay counties. It is also probable that the same formation is developed in San Saba and some of the counties adjacent.

The strata composing the coal measures of the region we have described, have a thickness estimated at not less than three hundred feet, and consist of quartzose and argillaceous sandstones, limestones, grits and conglomerates; argillaceous and calcareous shales, fire, potters' and pipe clays, and coal. Some of these strata, and particularly the limestones and shales, are filled with organic remains, among which we have recognized many species which are highly characteristic of the coal measure of Missouri, Kentucky, Illinois, and Iowa. The shales also frequently contain large and beautiful crystals of selenite, and rounded masses of excellent iron, &c. The coal at all the localities examined reposes on either fire clay or shale.

In Young and Buchanan counties, outcrops of coal occur at a number of points, and in the former county it has been struck in many places in excavations for wells. We have here recognized four distinct coal seams, varying from six inches to five feet, and presenting an aggregate thickness of eight or nine

feet. At the mouth of Whiskey creek, near Fort Belknap, is an interesting exposure, exhibiting three distinct coal beds, separated by bands of limestone, fire clay, sandstone and shale, and the whole surmounted by sandstone and conglomerate.

2.—ARKANSAS COAL.

The discovery of a valuable coal region, says the New-Orleans *Picayune*, in the southern portion of Arkansas, some two or three years since, created the belief that New-Orleans might ere long obtain her supply from that quarter.

A company was organized, coal lands purchased, and a few miners sent up the Ouachita to commence mining operations. But an unfortunate difficulty, in which the company became involved, compelled it to defend its rights before the courts, and suspended its operations so long, that the public almost forgot the existence of the valuable mineral in that State.

We are glad to learn that all the difficulties have been settled, and measures are now in progress of execution to transport a large quantity of the coal to this market.

The Arkansas coal is very valuable as a fuel. It resembles, in almost every particular, the celebrated Taborne Hill mineral. It burns with great freedom, and, once lighted, does not die out until the whole mass is consumed. It leaves no cinders, and makes little or no smoke. As an agent for the creation of steam, for cooking, for all domestic purposes where fuel is used, it is superior to most of the coals brought to our market, and inferior to none.

In this city it has been fairly tried in engines, in the grate and the cooking stove, with complete success.

The coal lands belonging to the company that has been formed in this city, lie upon and in the neighborhood of the Ouachita, the coal in some places outcropping in the river banks. Ten thousand barrels have been mined and now await transportation to this city. In flatboats or barges it is believed the coal may be brought to the market during eight months of the year. The short distance it is to be transported, the ease with which it can be mined, promise, in case the company succeed in their project, a considerable reduction of the price of this important article of home consumption.

As an oil-bearing product, the Arkansas coal is superior to the Breckenridge. It is probable that for the purpose of gas-making it will prove a cheaper article than that now used by our gas company.

The coal fields of Arkansas are almost inexhaustible. Sufficient has been learned by the geological survey of the State, to show that the coal measures traverse several counties. We trust that the measures taken by our citizens engaged in the enterprise of mining and shipping this coal to New-Orleans, will be successful, so that we may be able to obtain a full and constant supply from the coal fields of Arkansas.

3.—COTTON MANUFACTURES AT THE SOUTH.

Out of four millions of bales of cotton raised last year, only about one hundred thousand bales are estimated to have been manufactured into cloth in all of the slaveholding States—such an insignificant proportion as to be hardly worth mentioning. Of the quantity of cotton manufactured in the slaveholding States, the following statement will show how it is divided :

	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.	1859.
N. Carolina, bales.....	18,500	22,000	25,000	26,000	29,000
South Carolina.....	14,500	15,000	17,000	18,000	20,000
Georgia.....	20,500	25,000	23,000	24,000	26,000
Alabama.....	5,500	6,500	5,000	8,000	10,000
Tennessee.....	4,000	7,000	9,000	10,000	13,000

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.

1.—RAILROAD TO THE PACIFIC.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 31, 1859.

J. D. B. DE BOW, Esq. :

DEAR SIR : I herewith hand you a copy of a communication by me to the *London Morning Herald*, under date of January 15, 1858. It was published entire in the *London Morning Herald*; and in the same paper, under date of September 29, 1858, is a report of the proceedings of "The British Association," assembled at Leeds, in which it appears that this same communication was presented to the Geographical Section of the Association by Sir Roderick Murchison, and there read and commented on, and decided that the president should present it to Lord Derby, whose ministry did not continue long. You are at liberty to make such use of it as you think proper. The subject of a Railroad to the Pacific will no doubt be brought up in the next Congress, and perhaps my views may not be unacceptable to a portion of the people, particularly those who are strict constructionists of the Constitution.

Respectfully yours,

ASA WHITNEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 15th, 1858.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE MORNING HERALD, LONDON :

GENTS : I have read, with much interest, a very able article on the subject of a railroad to the Pacific (copied from your valuable journal, under date of Dec. 25th, 1857, into the *N. Y. Journal of Commerce*). Permit me to present my thanks for the manner in which you have been pleased to mention my name and efforts. Having, as I may say, made this subject the study and object of my life and thought, for the six years past, I have abandoned all hope of its accomplishment across the territory of the United States; and as it is a work in which I believe all mankind are deeply interested, and if accomplished would be vastly benefited, my desire to see its successful accomplishment is unabated.

I hail with joy any proposition by which I can see even a remote chance for the realization of my fond hopes, across British territory. I am so truly an American, that it was the desire of my heart to see my country control the commerce of the world, as it no doubt would have done, with this road completed as I proposed—to which I devoted all my efforts and energies for the twelve best years of my life; but that is now all past, and my country has lost its power over this great subject, forever. It now remains with England to accomplish what the United States have failed to do. With your permission, I will go on and give my reasons why the United States cannot accomplish this great work :

First, There is not any available means. The lands which I proposed to purchase for the work, from Lake Michigan onward were available not only for the construction of the road for 900 miles, but by the advance of the work through, and consequent settlement on its line, the reserved half of the lands would have created a fund sufficient to carry the work to the Pacific slope. These lands have been disposed of by various acts of Congress, for political capital, and for the benefit of political demagogues, and the United States have no available means for such a work.

Second, It is a work far beyond the power of individual capital, because the accumulation of interest, from the commencement to completion, would nearly double the actual outlay for the work, and no return could be looked for, from its earnings, for a life-time, if ever.

Third, The government of the United States has no power, and Congress has no power to confer it, to contract, operate, or carry on such a work. The Democratic party proper can never sanction it; even Mr. Buchanan does not come out openly and boldly; he speaks in a vague manner of a military road, etc. Mr. Buchanan is a politician by education; he knows well that the people are disappointed in the failure of that great measure; he desires to conciliate and feel his way; but, it is my opinion that he will never sanction any plan with any prospect of success; he may favor the donation of lands on the line, or a contract to carry the mail, etc. But there are no longer any lands available, except for a short distance, say 200 or 300 miles, and if undertaken in such a manner, there would be no guarantee of its continuance any further than profitable to the company undertaking it, there being no provision for an accumulating fund. If undertaken in this manner, its conception must be in corruption, and when brought forth, its existence would soon end in political speculation, so obnoxious to the people at large, that it would overthrow the party advocating it.

Fourth, The selection of a route would array one section of the Union against the other, to avoid which two routes would be proposed, which would be tantamount to a failure of both. Can the United States build two roads to the Pacific, through a barren wilderness, without timber, and the greater part incapable of sustaining population or settlement? I think not. The government of the United States is so limited in its powers, that it can never undertake directly any such work; this you do not seem to understand on your side of the Atlantic, and even here, many who are esteemed of high intelligence, do not understand it, and argue that Congress should be omnipotent, and the government supreme, while the fact is, the government is but the agent or executor of the will of the people or States, while the duties and powers of its three branches are clearly defined and fully limited, so that neither can trans-

cond. Hence, Congress may enact fifty laws, the President may sign them, and, after all, the United States Court would declare them all unconstitutional and illegal. The necessity of this is obvious; a government could not have been formed otherwise.

This government was formed, as all who are conversant with its history know, from and by separate, sovereign, and independent States; they first confederated to carry on the War of the Revolution, or Independence, but they did not consolidate a government, after their Independence. They, the States, entered into a compact with each other for a government, or agent to transact for the States their business, which they, the United States, expressly and clearly defined, limited, and declared, that their agent should have no power to transcend the limits of its instructions, except only when so ordered by a vote of two thirds of the States; the States, each and all, retaining their independent sovereignty, with power to enact their own municipal laws, and manage their own internal affairs. A very important reason for this is, that the different States possessed and occupied a vast territory of country, of different climates, soils, and products, consequently with different interests, so that the enactment of a law by Congress, while it might benefit one State or section, would be ruinous to others. Therefore, the government was made the creature of, and subject to the States and the people, and not the people and the States subjects of the government, except so far as the delegated powers specified, and no farther; no more than is the estate of a testator bound by the acts of his executor, which are not authorized by the written testament. Any deviations from this strictly literal construction of the powers of this government, have led to confusion and strife; often approaching to an overthrow of the whole fabric. Such has been the case of all formed great measures brought before, or acted on by Congress. There is the slavery question, for one. The slave States having never surrendered their control over this subject, will not permit Congress to act upon it, and justly consider any attempt so to do as an unwarrantable interference with their rights, as also a violation of the compact.

Slavery is not alone. Any action by Congress on any subject that might tax one State or section, to be applied to any object for the benefit of any other section or State, would be viewed in the same light. The tariff on imports has been the subject of warm controversy, and justly so, because the great and controlling interest of the United States is agriculture, which does not require, and cannot be benefited by Congressional acts; whereas, manufacturers desire and urge a prohibition, even, on articles competing with their products, which is clearly unjust to the agriculturists, because they are the great consumers of both foreign and domestic fabrics, and a heavy duty must enhance their cost; an unequal and unjust tax upon one interest for the benefit of another, which is submitted to, in the case of the tariff only, under the false plea that "Congress shall have power to levy taxes for the necessary expenses of the government," and could never be carried through Congress, except by bargain and sale—a corrupt legislation.

Such would be the case with any legislation on the subject of a railroad to the Pacific. The slave States would claim that the road should be located on what is termed slave territory, in order that slavery might be extended to the Pacific; while the free States would claim that the road should be located on what is termed free soil, with a view to check the extension of slavery; the great aim and object of each to check the other, and keep up an equilibrium in the Legislature of the country, which must eventually overthrow all. Besides the strifes of these two great sections, each and every border State, from Texas to Lake Superior, would claim that the road should be commenced on its limits; therefore, no bill could ever be passed through Congress except by bargain and sale with each and all of these different interests. And could such a bill, enacted under such circumstances, be made available for such a work? I think not.

Even Mr. Buchanan does not pretend that Congress has the power to authorize such a work through any State, and no one will admit that Congress can have any control over its operation and management, through any State. Therefore, were Congress to act at all, it would only be through territories far beyond civilization—a barren wilderness—without timber, and no materials for such a work, and no means to reach them, thereby greatly enhancing the outlay for construction. Had my plan been adopted, the work could have been commenced on the western shore of Lake Michigan, where there was timber, materials, and easy communication with settlements; the lines to connect with it from the Atlantic, passing through but two States, could, from necessity, have been made tributary to its operation and management, from the Lake to the Pacific. Congress then had the power over it, and all the streams could have been bridged, so that an uninterrupted communication, from ocean to ocean, would have been had forever. A cargo of merchandise could have passed from the Atlantic to the Pacific without transshipment, and as the road from the Lake to the Pacific would have been free, except tolls necessary for operation and repairs, the charge for transit would have been so low, together with the great saving of time, that the commerce of Europe with Asia would have been forced over it; this is now all lost to the United States. Were Congress to authorize the construction of a road through territories, the connection with it, from either ocean, must be through States; on the Atlantic side, not less than four, each controlling the operation of the line through it, subject to the changes and whims of its Legislature, and to the levying of such tax on freight as would suit its wants, or authorize a company so to do; and the line would probably cross streams which could not be bridged, subjecting commerce and travel to transshipment, ferriage, delays, and heavy expenses, sure to defeat the great objects of the work, and the commerce of Europe with Asia would continue its present route around the Cape of Good Hope.

I have never believed that a railroad to the Pacific could ultimately benefit either Europe or the Atlantic slope of America, unless the commerce of Europe with Asia could be made to pass over it, leaving England, with her present manufacturing and commercial position and relations, and augmenting her power over both. The immense business which the commerce and intercourse between Europe and Asia would give to the road must, as a natural result, form a foundation for the employment of a densely populated belt from ocean to ocean, and, and as far as the soil and climate might suit, mostly an agricultural people.

This belt would take the surplus population from Europe, and make them producers of food to exchange for English manufactures on one side, and Asiatic productions on the other side, thus benefiting, to a vast extent, the populations of both Europe and Asia, by giving to each the means to consume more largely of the other's products. Now, if these great results cannot be attained, what benefit to England or to the United States even, can be looked for from a railroad to the Pacific? The mountain range, from Cape Horn to the Arctic Ocean, divides this continent and the world. The soils, climates, and products (except minerals), are precisely the same; therefore, exchanges can no sooner take place than with the waters which this vast shed conducts to the two oceans.

Then, what results may we look for from the completion of a railway to the Pacific which cannot force the commerce of Europe with Asia over it? We already see that population on the Atlantic slope has gone so far west, that the cost of transport to market is such as to leave but small return to the producers; hence we see the greater amount of emigration to the Pacific side is from the far Western States, and it is fair to conclude that population cannot extend much further on this side, and must leave a vast extent between the two oceans unoccupied, except, perhaps, by some exclusive sect like the Mormons. Now, is it not clear that a railroad to the Pacific, which cannot carry the commerce of Europe with Asia, cannot change this position? It is my opinion that it would not only verify these views, but would seal forever after the unalterable destiny of both England and the United States. A railroad that cannot take the commerce of Europe with Asia with it, would, beyond a doubt, facilitate travel and intercourse, and speedily build up on the Pacific slope a separate independent nation, drawing to it the capital, enterprise, and population of both Europe and the Atlantic slope, because, from the greater reward or return for each; with their own parallels from Cape Horn to the Arctic ocean to produce for and exchange with, and cod, whale, and other fisheries, extending from Oregon to Japan, more than fourfold of that of all the fisheries of the world besides, with Japan and China ready markets not only for the fish, but for all the products of the Pacific slope of America, in exchange for the fabrics and products of Japan, China, and for the tropical products of all Asia, would such a people, with such markets, look to the Atlantic slope or to Europe for exchanges? No, their exchanges must be with Japan, China, Australia, the many islands, and with all Asia; and English labor, capital, and enterprise, which now control the commerce of Asia, and with it the commerce of the world, must be transferred to the Pacific slope, when civilization and Christianity will have encircled the globe; but England, no longer mistress of the ocean, the commander of the commerce of the world, she must then be what the nations now are who at one time, in their turn, possessed and controlled the commerce of Asia.

When last in England (in 1851), I found many warm advocates for the construction of a railway over British territory. It was then, as now, my firm belief that this work cannot be accomplished through a wilderness so vast, except by a system of settlement and civilization to be connected with the work. I then feared that on a line so far north, the climate and lands would not be as well suited to settlement and culture as further south on territory of the United States. I have since examined the subject more thoroughly, and find a large extent of country on the British side well adapted to settlement and culture. At the Selkirk settlement, further north even than necessary for the line of the road, wheat, rye, barley, oats, potatoes, and even Indian corn, are cultivated to perfection, the yield large, and grain fine, and almost the entire line on this side would be a good grass country, and the Pacific side, for some parallels, is some 10° more mild. As to route, the British side is far more favorable for a road, with much lower grades. From Lake Superior to the Rocky mountain range is almost a level country, the ascent so gradual as to be almost imperceptible, and we find that near the 50th parallel the streams divide, running northeasterly and southeasterly, and north of the 45th parallel the mountains slope to the Arctic ocean, and nowhere north of 50° do they elevate their peaks 5,500 feet, with many depressions practicable for a railway. Here, then, would be the great highway, with its termini, Halifax and Puget Sound, the great depots for the commerce of Europe and Asia, the American continent and the world, under the management and control of one head. A cargo of merchandise might then pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific without transhipment or delay, and the actual distance from England to China some 2,000 miles less than any route likely to be fixed upon by the United States.

You speak of the Panama railway, and of the projected railway across Mexico; these are truly great enterprises, but you are mistaken as to their results. They will certainly facilitate travel and intercourse with California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands, but not so with Australia, and the other islands, China and India, because the sailing distance between London and Australia, China, India, &c., is less around the Cape of Good Hope than via Panama or across Mexico, where heavy expenses and delays for two or more transshipments, transit across, &c., must be incurred. By taking a globe, and placing the end of a cord or tape at London and thence to the Cape de Verdes, thence to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to Christmas or St. Paul's Island, and to Australia, or from the Cape to Java or to China or any other point, then measure from London across Panama to Australia or to China, say Canton, and you will find the distance from Canton to London, via the Cape of Good Hope, some two thousand miles less than via Panama.

I made this explanation before the Royal Geographical Society in 1851, and said: "If the entire earth could be swept away, opening a strait of six hundred miles in width at Panama, so that the two oceans could unite and mingle in one, the commerce of the world could not be generally benefited by it." On examination, these views were sustained by high authorities, and what has been the result? The Panama Railway has been completed; has the commerce of Europe with Australia, with China, or with India, been carried over it? During the outbreak in India has England sent troops or been in any way benefited by it? Has it in any way changed the position of the people of Europe or Asia, or in any degree given to each the means to consume more of the other's products? Can it ever do so? But.

what must be its inevitable results? I answer, the hastening of the great changes consequent upon the encircling of the globe with civilization and Christianity, and building upon the Pacific slope a nation which must control the commerce of all Asia, and be separate and distinct from the now United States and from England."

Respectfully yours,
ASA WHITNEY.

2.—RAILROADS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1860.

THE following statistics are compiled from the annual report of the *Railroad Journal*, published in New-York:

STATES, &c.	Total length of line.	Miles in operation.	Cost of roads and equipment.	Actual mileage belonging to States.	Mileage. 1855.
Maine.....	718.1	544.6	\$20,431,701	476.4	409
New Hampshire.....	599.9	565.2	17,785,111	661.7	585
Vermont.....	568.5	537.9	21,785,752	561.1	454
Massachusetts.....	1,507.3	1,428.0	65,319,921	1,391.1	1,102
Rhode Island.....	86.9	63.6	2,747,568	100.9	50
Connecticut.....	820.7	665.6	25,198,199	599.3	571
<i>New-England States.....</i>	<i>4,201.4</i>	<i>3,804.9</i>	<i>\$153,268,251</i>	<i>3,790.5</i>	<i>3,171</i>
New York.....	3,610.0	2,756.4	\$137,077,921	2,779.8	2,023
New Jersey.....	658.9	556.4	26,463,455	556.4	429
Pennsylvania.....	3,995.1	3,081.1	149,501,261	2,787.1	1,681
Delaware.....	117.9	117.9	2,345,925	127.1	39
Maryland, and District of Columbia.....	889.3	833.3	41,526,424	478.1	367
<i>Middle Atlantic States.....</i>	<i>9,271.8</i>	<i>7,345.1</i>	<i>\$356,922,586</i>	<i>6,728.5</i>	<i>5,139</i>
Virginia.....	2,958.5	1,525.7	\$43,069,360	1,755.7	986
North Carolina.....	1,020.2	770.2	13,698,469	703.2	349
South Carolina.....	1,136.0	807.3	19,083,343	900.3	741
Georgia.....	1,617.2	1,241.7	25,687,220	1,234.5	975
Florida.....	730.5	289.8	6,368,699	289.8	21
<i>South Atlantic States.....</i>	<i>6,562.4</i>	<i>4,634.7</i>	<i>\$108,207,091</i>	<i>4,892.5</i>	<i>3,072</i>
Alabama.....	1,822.4	708.6	\$20,975,639	628.9	304
Mississippi.....	445.1	365.4	9,024,444	691.1	226
Louisiana.....	1,160.0	419.0	16,073,270	294.0	195
Texas.....	2,667.0	284.5	7,578,943	284.5	32
<i>Gulf States.....</i>	<i>6,094.5</i>	<i>1,867.5</i>	<i>\$53,652,296</i>	<i>1,898.5</i>	<i>760</i>
Arkansas.....	701.3	38.5	\$1,150,110	38.5	.....
Missouri.....	1,387.3	723.2	31,771,116	723.2	37
Tennessee.....	1,434.4	1,062.3	27,348,141	977.5	326
Kentucky.....	698.4	458.5	13,852,062	510.5	231
<i>South Interior States.....</i>	<i>4,171.4</i>	<i>2,282.5</i>	<i>\$74,101,429</i>	<i>2,249.7</i>	<i>504</i>
Ohio.....	4,084.7	3,008.2	\$127,940,123	3,016.7	2,453
Michigan.....	1,747.8	1,132.8	44,072,226	706.9	474
Indiana.....	1,839.0	1,132.9	31,656,371	2,005.4	1,406
Illinois.....	3,500.7	2,752.7	107,720,937	2,727.7	884
Wisconsin.....	2,224.3	826.0	44,576,044	876.0	200
Iowa.....	1,806.8	395.3	13,347,475	395.3	.....
Minnesota.....	1,167.5	.....	1,000,000	.....	.....
<i>North Interior States.....</i>	<i>16,370.8</i>	<i>9,442.9</i>	<i>\$370,322,176</i>	<i>9,817.9</i>	<i>5,417</i>
California.....	308.8	22.5	\$2,447,100	22.5	.....
Oregon.....	300.0	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>Pacific States.....</i>	<i>608.8</i>	<i>22.5</i>	<i>\$2,447,100</i>	<i>22.5</i>	<i>.....</i>
Total United States.....	46,981.1	29,401.0	\$1,118,920,929	29,400.1	18,153

RAILROADS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

343

Statement of Total Mileage for Thirty Years.

Years.	Miles.	Years.	Miles.	Years.	Miles.
1831....	54	1841... 3,319	1851....	8,856	
1832....	181	1842... 3,877	1852....	10,878	
1833....	576	1843... 4,174	1853....	13,315	
1834....	762	1844... 4,811	1854....	15,511	
1835....	918	1845... 4,522	1855....	18,153	
1836....	1,102	1846... 4,870	1856....	21,440	
1837....	1,421	1847... 5,336	1857....	24,290	
1838....	1,843	1848... 5,682	1858....	26,210	
1839....	1,920	1849... 6,350	1859....	27,557	
1840....	2,197	1850... 7,475	1860....	29,401	

3.—RAILROADS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

VIRGINIA.

	Length.	In operation.	Cost.
Alexandria, Loudoun, and Hampstead.....	163.4	41.3	\$1,534,194
Baltimore and Ohio (240 miles in Va.).....			
Blue Ridge (17.2 miles included in Va. Central).....			
Clover Hill (Coal).....	15.5	15.5	299,997
Covington and Ohio.....	188.9		
Kanawha Branch.....	39.9		
Big Sandy Branch.....	48.1		
Fredericksburgh and Gordonsville.....	45.0	0.0	221,573
Hempfield (See Pa. 9 miles in Virginia).....			
Manassas Gap.....	139.3	75.3	3,472,891
Norfolk and Petersburg.....	79.2	79.2	1,760,934
Northwestern Virginia.....	165.6	165.6	5,322,150
Orange and Alexandria.....	88.4	88.4	2,441,486
Warrenton Branch.....	9.1	9.1	
Lynchburg Extension.....	60.0	60.0	1,897,889
Petersburg and Lynchburg.....	123.3	123.3	3,415,632
City Point Branch.....	10.1	10.1	
Petersburg and Roanoke.....	59.2	59.2	1,161,731
Gaston Branch.....	21.3	21.3	
Pittsburg and Steubenville (7 m. in Va.).....	140.5	140.5	3,588,653
Richmond and Danville.....	1.8	1.8	1,985,579
Branch.....	75.1	75.1	
Richmond, Frederick, and Potomac.....	22.2	22.2	1,106,993
Richmond and Petersburg.....	2.7	2.7	511,000
Port Walthall Branch.....	52.6	52.6	
Richmond and York River.....	80.0	80.0	1,449,038
Roanoke Valley (8 miles in Va.).....	206.2	195.2	5,462,910
Seaboard and Roanoke.....	204.2	204.2	6,342,862
Virginia Central.....	9.5	9.5	
Virginia and Tennessee.....	1.2	1.2	
Salt Works Branch.....	32.3	32.3	573,995
Other Branches.....	6.0	6.0	200,000
Winchester and Potomac.....	30.0	30.0	300,000
Washington and Alexandria.....			
Sundry Coal Railroads, not elsewhere accounted for.....			
Total.....	2,058.5	1,525.7	\$43,009,300

NORTH CAROLINA.

Atlantic and North Carolina.....	95.2	95.2	\$2,000,000
Branch.....	2.0	0.0	
Charlotte and South Carolina (6 m. in N. C.).....			
North Carolina.....	223.0	223.0	4,235,000
Petersburg and Roanoke.....	} See { 8 m. in N. C.		
Gaston Branch.....	} Va. { 9 m. in N. C.		
Raleigh and Gaston.....	97.0	97.0	1,240,241
Roanoke Valley.....	53.0	52.0	527,000
Seaboard and Roanoke (17 m. in N. C.).....			
Western.....	43.0	0.0	190,793
Western, Charlotte, and Rutherford.....	184.0	10.0	350,000
Wilmington and Manchester.....	161.0	161.0	2,586,238
Wilmington and Weldon.....	162.0	161.0	2,809,223
Total.....	1,020.0	770.2	\$13,998,495

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Blue Ridge.....	195.6	13.2	\$2,126,539
Branch.....	1.5	1.5	
Charleston and Savannah.....	102.3	54.9	1,099,536
Charleston and South Carolina.....	109.6	109.6	1,719,045
Cheraw and Darlington.....	40.3	40.3	600,000

	Length.	In Operation.	Cost.
Cheraw and Coal Fields.....	57.0	0.0	.....
Greenville and Columbia.....	143.2	143.2	\$2,763,930
Abbeville Branch.....	11.5	11.5	
Anderson Branch.....	9.5	9.5	
King's Mountain.....	22.5	22.5	196,236
Laurens.....	32.0	32.0	543,403
North Eastern.....	102.0	102.0	2,016,652
South Carolina.....	136.0	136.0	7,023,008
Columbia Branch.....	69.0	69.0	
Camden Branch.....	37.0	37.0	
Spartanburg and Union.....	67.0	25.1	1,000,000
Wilmington and Manchester (99 m. in S. C.).....			
Total.....	1,136.0	807.3	\$19,083,343

GEORGIA.

Atlanta and La Grange.....	86.7	86.7	\$1,179,381
Augusta and Savannah.....	53.0	53.0	1,032,200
Barnesville and Thomaston.....	16.0	16.0	200,000
Brunswick and Florida.....	67.2	43.5	755,000
Central of Georgia.....	191.0	191.0	3,750,000
East Tennessee and Georgia (15 m. in Ga.).....			
Ntowah.....	0.0	0.0	112,000
Georgia.....	171.0	171.0	4,174,492
Athens Branch.....	39.0	39.0	
Warrenton Branch.....	4.0	4.0	
Wilmington Branch.....	18.0	18.0	
Macon and Brunswick.....	174.0	0.0	.....
Macon and Western.....	102.5	102.5	1,501,964
Macon Trunk (Atl. and G.).....	163.5	30.0	800,000
Milledgeville and Eatonton.....	22.0	22.0	275,901
Milledgeville and Gordon.....	17.3	17.3	213,500
Muscogee.....	50.0	50.0	936,778
Rome and Kingston.....	20.0	20.0	250,000
Savannah, Albany, and Gulf.....	68.1	68.1	1,439,007
Southwestern.....	106.1	106.1	3,165,000
Butler Branch.....	23.0	22.0	
Cuthbert Branch.....	78.8	34.5	
Western and Atlantic.....	138.0	138.0	5,901,497
Total.....	1,017.2	1,241.7	\$25,687,220

FLORIDA.

Florida.....	154.2	154.2	\$3,000,000
Tampa Branch.....	150.0	0.0	.....
Florida and Alabama.....	45.1	45.1	1,000,000
Florida, Atlantic, and Gulf Central.....	59.3	37.0	943,699
Pensacola and Georgia.....	297.0	28.6	1,000,000
Monticello Branch.....	3.9	3.9	425,000
Tallahassee.....	21.0	21.0	
Total.....	730.5	289.8	\$6,368,699

ALABAMA.

Alabama and Florida.....	115.6	52.0	\$1,127,174
Alabama and Mississippi Rivers.....	88.3	30.8	518,963
Alabama and Tennessee Rivers.....	107.4	109.8	2,264,468
Marion.....	14.0	14.0	280,000
Memphis and Charleston (157.5 m. in Ala.).....			
Tusculum Branch (2.5 m. in Ala.).....			
Mobile and Girard.....	228.3	57.3	2,000,000
Mobile and Great Northern.....	88.0	0.0	.....
Mobile and Ohio, in Alabama.....	62.5	62.5	.....
" " in Mississippi.....	270.0	160.5	
" " in Tennessee.....	121.3	67.0	10,313,050
" " in Kentucky.....	44.5	20.0	
Columbus (Miss.) Branch.....	14.7	14.7	
Paducah (Ky.) Branch.....	58.5	58.5	
Montgomery and West Point.....	88.5	88.5	
Opelika Branch.....	28.4	28.4	2,402,493
Northeast and Southwest.....	295.8	0.0	728,000
Seima and Gulf.....	82.0	0.0	300,000
Tennessee and Coosa.....	36.5	0.0	200,000
Tennessee and Alabama Central.....	26.1	26.1	781,500
Total.....	1,822.4	798.6	\$20,975,639

	Length.	In Operation.	Cost.
MISSISSIPPI.			
Great Gulf and Port Gibson.....	8.0	8.0	\$200,000
Memphis and Charleston (27 m. in Miss.).....	187.3	187.3	4,000,000
Mississippi Central.....	90.2	79.9	1,974,444
Mississippi and Tennessee.....			
Mobile and Ohio, } See { 169.5 m. in Miss.....			
Columbus Br. } Ala. { 14.7 m. in Miss.....			
N. Orleans, Jackson, & G't Northern (118 m. in Miss.)	7.0	7.0	100,000
Raymond.....	143.6	83.2	2,750,000
Southern Mississippi.....			
West Feliciana (7 m. in Miss.).....			
Total.....	445.1	365.4	\$9,024,444
LOUISIANA.			
Baton Rouge, Gros Tete and Opelousas.....	46.0	17.0	\$327.00
Clinton and Port Hudson.....	22.0	22.0	750,666
Mexican Gulf.....	27.0	27.0	662,911
Mecklenburgh and Lake Pontchartrain	6.0	6.0	212,398
New-Orleans and Carrollton.....	6.5	6.5	
Branch tracks.....	3.0	3.0	500,000
Jefferson and Lake Pontchartrain.....	4.5	4.5	
New-Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern.....	411.0	206.0	8,026,628
New-Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western.....	258.0	80.0	4,043,631
Houston Branch.....	161.0	0.0	
Vicksburg, Shreveport, and Texas.....	189.0	21.0	929,418
West Feliciana.....	26.0	26.0	620,000
Total.....	1,190.0	419.0	\$16,073,370
TEXAS.			
B. Bayon, Brazos, and Colorado.....	160.0	32.0	\$1,000,000
Galveston, Houston, and Henderson.....	240.0	72.0	1,800,000
Houston and New-Orleans.....	96.0	0.0	200,000
Houston Tap.....	7.0	7.0	200,000
Houston Tap and Brazoria.....	78.0	53.0	1,000,000
Houston and Texas Central.....	356.0	78.0	1,691,443
Memphis, El Paso, and Pacific.....	225.0	0.0	
Mexican Gulf and Henderson.....	140.0	0.0	
Sabine and Rio Grande.....	452.0	0.0	500,000
San Antonio and Mexican Gulf.....	135.0	25.0	500,000
Southern Pacific.....	783.0	27.5	687,500
Total.....	2,667.0	284.6	\$7,578,943
ARKANSAS.			
Cairo and Fulton.....	301.0	0.0	
Little Rock and Fort Smith.....	155.0	0.0	
Little Rock and Napoleon.....	93.0	0.0	\$318,161
Memphis and Little Rock.....	146.0	38.5	811,949
Total.....	701.3	38.5	\$1,130,110
MISSOURI.			
Cairo and Fulton.....	78.0	25.0	\$842,673
Hannibal and St. Joseph.....	206.8	206.8	6,030,318
North Missouri.....	236.8	168.7	5,868,677
Pacific.....	282.0	168.0	10,557,802
Southwest Branch.....	283.0	47.0	2,394,825
Platte County.....	150.0	7.0	434,445
Quincy and Palmyra.....	10.5	10.5	250,000
St. Louis and Iron Mountain.....	86.5	86.5	5,392,377
Potosi Branch.....	3.7	3.7	
Total.....	1,337.3	723.2	\$31,771,116
TENNESSEE.			
Central Southern.....	49.5	32.1	\$800,000
Cleveland and Chattanooga.....	50.0	50.0	867,210
East Tennessee and Georgia.....	110.8	110.8	3,376,943
East Tennessee and Virginia.....	130.3	130.3	3,110,168
Edgefield and Kentucky.....	46.7	46.7	787,922
Louisville and Nashville (26.5 m. in Tenn.).....			

	Length.	In Operation.	Cost.
Memphis and Charleston.....	271.0	271.0	6,188,133
Somerville Branch.....	16.0	16.0	
Tuscumbia Branch.....	2.5	2.5	
Memphis and Ohio.....	180.3	82.0	3,200,009
Memphis, Clarksville, and Louisville.....	73.0	30.0	795,364
Mississippi Central and Tennessee.....	72.9	48.1	1,023,470
Mississippi and Tennessee (10½ m. in Tenn.).....			
Mobile and Ohio (67 m. in Tenn.).....			
McMinnville and Manchester.....	34.2	34.2	565,459
Nashville and Chattanooga.....	151.0	151.0	3,733,492
Shelbyville Branch.....	8.0	8.0	
Nashville and Northwestern.....	172.8	0.0	1,000,000
Tennessee and Alabama.....	111.9	54.6	1,600,000
Western and Atlantic (See Ga. 13.2 m. in Tenn.)....			
Winchester and Alabama.....	24.5	15.0	300,000
Total.....	1,434.4	1,062.3	\$27,348,141

KENTUCKY.

Breckenridge Coal.....	8.5	8.5	\$312,000
Covington and Lexington.....	80.0	80.0	4,135,971
Lexington and Big Sandy.....	133.0	17.0	694,624
Lexington and Danville.....	35.0	13.0	824,488
Lexington and Frankfort.....	29.0	29.0	642,701
Louisville and Frankfort.....	65.1	65.1	1,667,833
Louisville and Nashville.....	184.5	184.5	5,000,000
Memphis Branch.....	31.7		
Lebanon Branch.....	37.6	37.6	
Maysville and Lexington.....	89.0	18.8	575,000
Mobile and Ohio } See } 29 m. in Ky.....			
Paducah Br. } Ala. } 58.5 m. in Ky.....			
Portland and Louisville (Horse).....	5.0	5.0	100,000
Total.....	698.4	468.5	\$13,852,062

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1.—ENGLISH AGRICULTURE AND LANDED INTEREST.

MR. FITZHUGH is not alone among the American writers of the present day who are unable to educe the happiest and most prosperous and best condition for a people from unrestricted freedom, unlimited division of property, and the widest competition, as will appear from the following extract from a pamphlet before us, which purports to be an address on agriculture, by Sidney George Fisher, of Philadelphia:

Several causes have contributed to produce that very grand and remarkable phenomenon of this century—English agriculture; causes inherent and external, causes in the past and the present. The insular position of England, and her consequent freedom from the ravages of invasion, so that the island has become a store-house, filled with the accumulated treasure of ages; the freedom of her government, securing the rights of property and preserving her from the destructive fury of civil discord; the passion of the English race for rural domestic life, which has scattered homes throughout the country, and led to the expenditure of wealth in the improvement and embellishment of the soil; the constitution, custom, and law of English landed property, founded in the feudal system, and modified by the requirements of modern society, which has given to the land two owners, two caretakers and friends, the landlord and the tenant, thus securing the application of knowledge and capital, and combining union of interest with division of labor; these are the chief influences which have affected agriculture. They are, however, general causes, and have all united to produce one proximate cause, without which, they would have been powerless, and that is, local markets, the very opposite of centralization, by which French agriculture has been retarded, and at times well nigh destroyed.

The many-sided genius of the English race has not been successful in agricul-

ture only. It has also created manufactures and commerce, which receive tribute from all the world, and pour its riches on their little island. The English love the land, but they love also the sea, the ship, the workshop, the loom, the steam-engine, and by the use of these tools they have woven a network of relations and dependencies over the earth, and at every haul of this mighty seine they bring to their shores materials for their industry and wealth incalculable, and all the wealth is lavished on the land. London is a great city. It has two and a half millions of inhabitants. It is the centre of the commerce and finance of the world. All interests tend to it and diverge from it. It is the seat of activity and grandeur and wealth unparalleled in any former age, not excepting Rome itself when at the height of its power. Yet London is not a central point in England in any sense, social, political, or economical. It does not merely absorb and consume, like Paris. What it receives from the country it gives back again with usurious interest. What it receives from other nations it pours out over the country in fertilizing streams. London has royal palaces, but the queen does not live in London. She lives in the country, where she also has palaces and farms. The aristocracy do not live in London; they go there for a few months during the session of Parliament. They live on their estates, and spend their incomes on them. The rich merchants do not live in London. They make money there, and the first thing they do with it, is to buy land to cultivate and adorn as a home for themselves and their children. The very tradesmen and shop-keepers and attorneys have imbibed the same spirit. As soon as they are able, they leave the streets for some suburban cottage or villa, more or less remote from the great city. Even the rents of London go to improve the soil. A great part of the land on which the town is built, is owned by a few noblemen, and the immense incomes thence derived are spent in the country, in building, planting, gardening, draining, and cultivating the soil. Thence Woburn Abbey, Chatsworth, Eaton Hall, and thousands of similar places. The over-arching grandeur of London is like the English sky, which draws up moisture from sea and land to pour it down again in constant and refreshing showers.

2.—RICE CROPS.

The following are comparative statements of the total rice crops of South Carolina and Georgia for 1858 and 1859:

SOUTH CAROLINA.		1858.	1859.
Exported to foreign ports from Charleston.....		36,158	.....
Coastwise		99,057	.....
City consumption for the year		19,800	.....
Burnt		3,500	.....
Stock on hand September 1, 1859.....		1,145	.....
Tierces.....		159,660	.....
Deduct received from Savannah, Georgia.....	209		
Stock on hand September 1, 1858.....	3,358		
		3,567	.....
Total South Carolina.....tierces	156,093		149,06 ₁
GEORGIA.			
Exported to foreign ports from Savannah.....		7,206	.....
Coastwise		30,501	.....
Total Georgia..... tierces		37,709	31,345
Total South Carolina and Georgia.....		193,800	180,406
Increase in 1859.....tierces		13,394	

The city consumption and stock on hand on the 1st of September at Savannah are not included in the above.

3.—GREAT SOUTHERN ORCHARD.

A writer from Mississippi gave, recently, the following account, in a Northern journal, of the magnificent pear and peach orchard of Colonel Hebron, near Vicksburg, Miss :

THE LARGEST PEAR ORCHARD IN THE COUNTRY.

It covers a hundred acres, and is extending its borders every year. He is so well satisfied with the profits of fruit-growing, and finds the market so much beyond his ability to supply, that he is gradually curtailing his other crops, and giving his attention to fruit.

Col. Hebron is a Virginia gentleman of the old school, and first came to this country in 1836. He immediately began to plant fruit-trees, without any further thought than supplying his own hands and stock. The peach-trees raised from the pit were loaded with fruit, year after year, before he thought of selling them. At length a colored man, who was acquainted with the New-Orleans market, bought five barrels of him for fifty dollars. When he learned that the speculator had sold them for twenty-nine dollars a barrel, his eyes were opened to a better business than raising cotton. There was a call for trees as well as fruit, and for apples and pears as well as peaches, until the nursery and fruit business has taken the lead of cotton. The supply of fruit-trees first came from the North, but were not found to be well adapted to the climate. Southern varieties, grown upon stocks raised here, uniformly give better apples, and seedling pear stocks do much better than Northern trees. The varieties of pears most largely planted are the Bartlett and Beurre Diel. They grow under ordinary cultivation to a much larger size than at the North, and are said to be of equally fine quality. The first pear-trees were put out in 1840, but the larger part of the orchard is not over eight years old. The trees are now set at twenty feet apart, and the ground between is cultivated and cropped principally with cotton. Though this cropping does not seem to have marred the result in this instance, we apprehend that the time is not distant, when the trees will show their need of the aliment that has been abstracted by the hoed crops. The only preparation of the soil for planting the trees is ploughing and preparing a border of compost from the forest where the tree stands.

A PEACH ORCHARD.

There are twenty acres occupied with peach-trees, that have been planted three years. They are now thick set with fruit, about the size of cranberries. The trees are all of a few select varieties, so as to give a succession for market from the 10th of June till October. This long season of the peach crop gives the Southern fruit-grower a great advantage over the Northern. The pears come nearly a month earlier, and continue later, so that with a suitable selection of varieties, there would be no difficulty in sending them to market for seven months in the year. The peach is more generally planted in all this region, and from what I can learn, in all the upland districts of the South, than any other fruit-tree. They appear uniformly healthy, and all the trees that I have noticed in this and in the adjoining county, have been loaded with fruit. Until quite recently, the South has had few nurserymen, and the peach has been almost uniformly propagated from the stone. On the contrary, almost all our trees have been propagated in nurseries by budding. Even those who have raised their own trees, have budded them. The stones of such peaches as are marketed, generally picked before they are ripe, are planted for stocks, both in the nursery and in home culture. The facts are, that all over the North, both with the nursery and home grown trees, the peach is short lived, and hardly pays for planting. It would be, perhaps, too much to say, that this diseased condition comes of the mode of propagation, but it certainly looks very much like it. The facts certainly ought to be studied by our fruit-growers. It is an experiment worth trying, to plant peach-stones from Southern plantations, where they have been grown for generations from the stones, and see if we cannot introduce healthy stocks. If this fruit can be restored to its former health and productiveness, it will be worth millions of dollars to Connecticut, to say nothing of the

SUGAR CROP AND CONSUMPTION IN THE UNITED STATES. 349

larger States. Oh! for the peaches that we saw when we were boys, forty years ago, beautiful to the eye, and good for food, the product of long-lived trees, and that, even in old age, were fat and flourishing.

4.—SUGAR CROP AND CONSUMPTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

The *New-York Shipping List* publishes its annual statement of the crops and consumption of sugar, home and foreign, in the United States, for 1859.

The editors estimate the total consumption of sugar in the United States, for 1859 (including 27,000 tons maple sugar and 8,500 tons consumed in Oregon and California), at 478,737 tons, against 431,152 tons in 1858, showing an increase of 11 per cent in a single year. This is surely very gratifying to the sugar growers of the South.

But we extract the statistics :

GENERAL STATEMENT.

FROM JANUARY 1, TO DECEMBER 31, 1859.	Hhds & Tes.	Bbls.	Boxes.	Bags.	Total Tons.
At New York	238392	15639	157448	221760	177312
Boston	28812	1060	63703	69903	31138
Philadelphia	32703	3152	15023	46206	24606
Baltimore	23290	4254	9720	15163	16756
New-Orleans	621	107	16185	454	2213
Other ports	17292	2295	4807	3042	10714
Total Receipts, Foreign Sugars	341110	26507	230976	349537	262829
Add Stock at all the Ports, January 1, 1859	14200	...	23781	5031	13346
Total Supply	355310	26507	286757	354568	276175
Deduct Exports and Shipments, Inland, } to Canada, from all the Ports, in 1859. }	17618	...	21935	9492	14194
Deduct Stock at all the Ports, January 1, 1860 ..	337092	26507	264822	345076	261981
	25830	...	34406	26638	22947
Total Consumption of Foreign	311862	26507	230416	318438	239024
Consumption of Foreign in 1859, as above					239,034
" " " 1858					244,758
Decrease in 1859					5,724
Consumption of Foreign in 1859					239,034
Add Crop of 1858-'59 of Louisiana, Texas, Florida, &c., the bulk of which was) distributed in 1859, and assuming the Stock, 1st Jan., each year, to be equal)					193,435
Less, Shipped to California, &c., not included in foregoing Statement of Exports					1,285
					192,150
Would make the Total Consumption in the United States, of Cane Sugar, in 1859					431,184
Total Consumption of Domestic and Foreign, in 1858					388,492
Increase in 1859					42,692

CONSUMPTION OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC CANE SUGAR.

YEAR.	Foreign.	Domestic.	Total Tons.	YEAR.	Foreign.	Domestic.	Total Tons.
1859	239,034	192,150	431,184	1854	150,854	234,444	385,298
1858	244,758	143,634	388,492	1853	200,610	172,370	372,980
1857	241,765	89,000	280,765	1852	196,558	118,650	315,217
1856	255,292	123,468	378,760	1851	181,047	107,438	288,485
1855	192,604	185,148	377,752	1850	143,045	126,421	269,466

Average Yearly Increase for the above Ten Years, 6½ per cent.

5.—LOW PRICE OF SOUTHERN LANDS.

A writer in the *Southern Cultivator* makes the following references to this important subject, and points out what he conceives to be the remedy :

There are four causes of exhaustion to our soils, and, consequently, of lessening their value, viz. :

- 1st. Our long hot summers.
- 2d. Our heavy washing rains of winter.
- 3d. The things cultivated.
- 4th. The mode of cultivation.

The first and second are peculiar to the South. They are the dark side of the picture of our snowy fields and sunny skies. They cannot be removed, but may be greatly warded off. With them the North has little or no trouble. Any one who will carefully observe the effects of one of our long summer droughts on the soil, will, unhesitatingly, say that it injures the soil more than any crop raised by us. By it nearly every liquid and volatile particle is evaporated. So great is this heat that in places it cracks the earth to the depth of twenty feet. In parts of Texas, well-diggers have seen traces of these cracks even deeper than that.

2. THE WASHING RAINS OF WINTER.—The whole South is subject to tropical changes. The rainy season coming in winter, when it sets in, the rain falls in torrents. The earth is never frozen during our winters, but completely softened by these rains. In Texas, when rain sets in, it fills these deep cracks with the top soil, leaving gravelly ridges between, resembling huge potato ridges. When these do not exist, owing to the unfrozen state of the ground, softened by the rains and our method of cultivation, the remaining portions of the soil are mostly washed away.

In the North their summers are short and warming—not burning; and in the winter the earth is mostly frozen, the rain by freezing and the snow, instead of washing, forms a mantle of protection.

3. THE THINGS CULTIVATED.—The principal objects are cotton and corn, raised from year to year on the same ground without change, unless it be from cotton to corn and from corn to cotton. Annually extracting from the soil the ingredients which compose the food of those plants until the soil is exhausted of them, however plenty in other ingredients, and then thrown away. The author of that article says that "cotton, of all our crops, is the least exhausting," &c. Cotton, as it has but few lateral roots and is sustained principally by one large tap root, may, of itself, take least from our soil; but its clean culture and continued turning of the fresher soil to the burning sun makes it the most exhausting of all crops. Its clean culture and few lateral roots leaves the soil without anything to hold it together, and in the worst condition possible for our heavy winter rains.

In the North, the principal objects of cultivation are grasses and the cereal grains, the stalks of which shade the ground in summer, and their rootlets form a complete tie to the soil against their thaws of spring. The stubble and stalks which they turn under in the fall after the injurious heat of summer is over, forms a coat of manure which, by rotting, keeps the soil warm and mellow.

4. OUR SYSTEM OF CULTIVATION.—As the author of the article in one of your numbers truly remarks, "lands in the South are bought with the calculation of being worn out and deserted." The clearing is about one fourth done. For the first two years no crop is raised from shade and unbroken soil. As soon as trees die and the roots rot, the soil, for want of something to hold it together, from scratching instead of ploughing, and that up and down hill, washes in a most frightful manner. Deep and horizontal ploughing and hill-side ditching are ridiculed. Manuring is almost wholly neglected, except a handful of cotton seed in the hill; a very light and temporary affair. Our ploughing averages from two to six inches deep.

In the North, notwithstanding they have none of our winter washing rains, they horizontalize their ploughing and efficiently hill-side ditch their lands. Their ploughing averages from five to fifteen inches deep. In addition, they harrow and roll their lands after ploughing until the soil is completely pulverized, and smoothed as near as may be. They manure without stint.

REMEDIES.—The author of the article above referred to recommends stock and their raising as a remedy, by furnishing manure, &c. Although I am a strong advocate for stock-raising, the idea that stock enriches the soil seems to me merely speculative. True, stock are great collectors of manure, but do not create a particle. The richness scattered over a great extent of country they bring home to their resting-places at night, but what they bring there they have taken from their feeding quarter, so that while they enrich their pen they impoverish their pasture. Add to this, more than half their food passes off in insensible perspiration. Of that which remains a great deal passes into bone, blood and flesh, while no inconsiderable amount is consumed in keeping up the wear and tear of the animal system. Of all they eat and drink there remains for manure but the indigestible parts, and the decayed portions of the animal which pass off in the form of dung and urine—perhaps not a tenth.

It seems to me the reason of the thing suggests the following remedies:

1st. Deep horizontal ploughing and ditching. This will keep what you have and what you add.

2d. Turning everything into manure which will make it, husbanding it as you do your gold, and scatter it over your field with a liberal hand.

3d. Shade the soil. This cannot be done to better advantage than by sowing, in abundance, grasses, clover and small grain, peas, planting potatoes and fruits of every kind. These will shade the earth in summer and their rootlets act as ties to the soil in winter.

4th. Shade induces gentle showers. These grasses, grains, &c., will extract food and richness from the atmosphere—from the soft showers and pearly dews—and their roots from the decomposing subsoil which deep ploughing will enable them to reach. All the parts of the earth unshaded and exposed to the direct and continued rays of the sun have and would become sandy deserts. Let us learn from and imitate Nature.

After raising grasses and small grain, stock-raising becomes of value to a farmer. They change these into pork, milk, butter, cheese and beef, wool and mutton. In a word, they are machines by which he can extract from the bulky and raw material, the prepared and valuable portion; leaving the insoluble parts in the form of manure—bring everything into use at once.

5th. Since we must raise cotton, let it be done amidst a rotation of crops, and as much as can be, on land too level to wash when thrown up in ridges and deprived of rootlets.

6th. Let our farmers raise everything at home necessary for home consumption, which the soil will, either directly or indirectly, produce, and there are few things which it will not. This will give farmers an opportunity to rotate their crops; enrich instead of wearing out their soil, and save the freight and carriage of the articles back and forth which they buy for home use. They will have less cotton for sale, it is true, but what they do have will be clear cash—not spent in expenses and buying the next year's support. It seems our farmers are in a whirl, "making more cotton to buy more negroes to make more cotton to buy more negroes," &c. They should make land (not negroes) the standard of value; ornament and cherish home as a patriotic and Christian virtue; live there—not stay, as at a tavern—and cease this everlasting moving "Westward, ho!"

DEPARTMENT OF MISCELLANY.

1.—SOUTHERN LITERATURE.

THE *New-York Journal of Commerce* denies the claim of literary superiority over the South which the North sometimes sets up. It says that our literature is not sectional, and that the South has actually furnished a larger share of interesting and important books than the North. This may seem strange to the croakers who are ever harping upon the literary barrenness of the South, but it is nevertheless true that some not only of the most able, but of the most re-

munerative books published in the United States, have been, and are by Southern authors. During the past year there has been no biography on either side of the water which surpasses in ability, dignity, and in classic style, the interesting 'Life and Times of James Madison,' by Hon. Wm. C. Rives, of Virginia. Neither in England, nor in France, from a number of volumes on field sports in Europe, India, and Africa, do we find a more racy, graphic, and interesting book than the 'Carolina Sports,' by Hon. Wm. Elliott of South Carolina.

The *Journal* says :

In the domain of fiction we are informed that of 'Grace Trueman, or Love and Principle,' written by Mrs. Ford, of Kentucky, more than 60,000 copies have been sold in a few months; and that the 'Hidden Path,' and 'Moss Side,' by Marion Harland, of Richmond, Va., have had an aggregate sale of 75,000 copies; 'Beulah,' by Augusta J. Evans, of Mobile, has passed through fifteen editions in three months, and the demand is by no means exhausted. 'Mustang Grey,' written by Hon. Jere Clemens, of Alabama, has also had an immense sale. Then there is that veteran in the literary world, William Gilmore Simms, who has not only written some of our most popular works of fiction, but has lately enriched his native State with the valuable History of South Carolina.

In works of Theology, Intellectual Philosophy, etc., etc., the South is not behind. Dr. Fuller's 'Sermons' are the characteristic and eloquent Christian productions of the former pastor of Beaufort, S. C., who discussed with Dr. Wayland the question of slavery. Dr. Fuller's sphere of usefulness has been greatly enlarged by his removal to Baltimore, and these sermons are the fruits of his labors there. Professor Hoge, now of this city, but formerly of Richmond, has furnished 'Blind Bartimeus;' the 'Christian Paradoxes,' is by Dr. Crawford of Mercer University, Georgia; 'Moral Science,' by Dr. Dagg, former President of Mercer University; 'Pictures from an Ancient Artist,' by Professor H. H. Tucker of Georgia—and many kindred volumes.

In books for children the 'Oakland Stories,' by George B. Taylor, of Richmond, Va., is not only having a most extensive sale in the Southern and middle States, but from the extreme North the orders show what is the appreciation of the book there. We were indeed struck with the criticism of the most widely circulated Boston paper, which, though devoted to Republicanism, had the frankness to assert that the 'Oakland Stories' were far superior to a similar series of a popular Northern writer.

We might multiply examples, but we will state that on inquiring at only two of the New-York publishers, we find that within a few months they have issued, the one, fifteen different publications, and the other seventeen, all written by Southern authors, representing Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky.

All our leading publishers have a goodly list, showing that the constant assertion in certain quarters that the South has no literature is not only unfounded, but that the South actually furnishes a large proportion of reading for the North.

2.—NEGRO PREACHER IN THE SOUTH.

The *Southern Rural Gentleman*, published at Granada, Miss., gives the following account of a somewhat noted preacher who is a negro and a slave.

George is rather under medium size, very black, and rather of delicate constitution. His raising and associations were like ordinary slaves, until he was grown. He learned to read by his own efforts, assisted occasionally by some of the younger members of the white family. He now reads his Bible and hymns quite well, and is a subscriber to one or two religious periodicals. He is able to use a dictionary to correct his pronunciation and use of words. He first commenced preaching among the blacks; but a light like his could not long remain hid under a bushel, and in a few years the whites nearly monopolized his ministerial labors. He travels and preaches a great deal; always commands good congregations and profound attention. Some white man usually travels with him when he goes out of his neighborhood. He is unwilling at any time to be

without some white person, as a witness to his conduct and protector of his person. He is industrious; and notwithstanding he loses so much time in preaching, he usually makes something beyond his current yearly expenses. The trustees supervise and legalize his business transactions. His integrity and truth are unimpeachable; his piety, a model worthy of all imitation. As a preacher, his voice is good, round, full, and pathetic; his articulation distinct and clear; his pronunciation generally correct; his style simple, easy, and forcible. His manner is zealous and remarkable for earnestness, nearly always melting a large portion of his audience into tears. The writer heard him preach twice in the court-house in Pulaski. A distinguished lawyer, who was present on one occasion, remarked that, "there was not a member of the Pulaski bar who could use better language, if compelled to speak as fast." But his distinguishing trait of character is, humility and diffidence. These are his tower of strength. His motto is: "Humility—the crowning grace of a Christian."

3.—WEALTH OF CALIFORNIA.

The total amount of taxable property in the State of California is \$140,000,000. The following table, made up from the Assessors' report, shows its distribution:

Counties.	Tax. Prop'ty.	Counties.	Tax. Prop'ty.
San Francisco.....	\$33,777,075	Sutter.....	\$2,104,501
Sacramento.....	11,908,248	Marin.....	2,064,998
Yuba.....	5,798,004	Tehama.....	1,939,092
San Joaquin.....	5,251,298	Shasta.....	1,773,207
Sonoma.....	5,028,644	Mendocino.....	1,626,399
Butte.....	4,047,762	San Mateo.....	1,432,161
Nevada.....	3,037,946	Monterey.....	1,306,090
Alameda.....	3,029,836	Trinity.....	1,285,721
Placer.....	2,985,536	Mariposa.....	1,240,000
Tuolumne.....	2,717,280	Amador.....	1,190,194
Napa.....	2,689,068	Santa Barbara.....	1,090,442
El Dorado.....	2,550,350	Humboldt.....	1,068,908
Siskiyou.....	2,510,538	San L. Obispo.....	979,927
Solano.....	2,502,432	Tulare.....	967,515
Colusi.....	2,492,658	Santa Cruz.....	888,754
Contra Costa.....	2,425,626	Merced.....	811,721
Los Angeles.....	2,370,523	Stanislaus.....	748,246
Sierra.....	2,294,404	Del Norte.....	613,993
Santa Clara.....	2,212,190	San Diego.....	600,000
Calaveras.....	2,185,097	Klamath.....	460,035
Yolo.....	2,144,010	Fresno.....	399,055

The total number of votes cast at the last general election was 103,613.

4.—FIRES IN ONE YEAR.

The following statement, says the *Journal of Commerce*, shows the total losses which have resulted from fires within the United States since the 1st of January, 1859, exclusive of losses less than \$10,000:

	No. of Fires.	Loss.	Ditto in 1858.
January.....	23	\$1,245,000	\$1,892,000
February.....	13	605,000	1,223,000
March.....	17	725,000	856,000
April.....	20	1,847,000	795,000
May.....	23	1,482,000	1,109,000
June.....	20	1,281,000	825,000
July.....	21	600,000	832,000
August.....	26	1,220,000	773,000
September.....	20	1,265,000	785,000
October.....	24	1,605,000	1,926,000
November.....	24	1,890,000	557,000
December.....	18	1,120,000	481,000
Total.....		\$14,885,000	\$12,054,000

5.—VIRGINIA STATISTICS OF POPULATION AND WEALTH.

From recent reports made to the Legislature of Virginia the following statistics have been compiled :

POPULATION OF THE STATE.

	White.	Free Negroes.	Slaves.	Total.
Tide Water.....	235,881	37,140	193,292	466,319
Piedmont.....	250,593	14,352	251,503	516,448
Valley.....	184,808	5,686	39,871	230,365
Trans-Alleghany.....	416,636	1,934	26,488	445,058
Total.....	1,087,918	59,118	511,154	1,658,190

The total population is probably larger than is shown above.

THE INCREASE OF POPULATION IN THE WHOLE STATE SINCE 1850, is

Whites.....	193,118.	Or about 22 per cent. gain.
Slaves.....	38,626.	" 8 " "
Free negroes.....	4,785.	" 8 " "

Total increase..... 236,529.

Or by districts as follows :

TIDE WATER.

Whites.....	52,892.	Or about 29 per cent. gain.
Slaves.....	20,910.	" 12 " "
Free negroes.....	6,750.	" 22 " "

PIEDMONT.

Whites.....	32,353.	Or about 15 per cent. gain.
Slaves.....	14,590.	" 6 " "
Decrease of free negroes.....	1,397.	" 9 " loss.

VALLEY.

Whites.....	22,358.	Or about 14 per cent. gain.
Slaves.....	1,080.	" 3 " "
Free negroes.....	164.	" 3 " "

TRANS-ALLEGHANY.

Whites.....	85,645.	Or about 26 per cent. gain.
Slaves.....	2,046.	" 8 " "
Decrease of free negroes.....	732.	" 27 " loss.

The increase of population, as shown by the tables, and by estimates, is, from births over deaths.....

Add immigration over emigration for the difference.....

Total increase..... 236,473

WEALTH OF VIRGINIA.

Total value of lands as assessed for taxation.....	\$315,423,221 34
Total value of lots as assessed for taxation.....	59,563,667 50
	<hr/>
	\$374,986,888 84

Total value of 511,154 slaves, estimated at \$612.63, which is the average value in Georgia by official reports.....	\$313,148,275 02
Total assessed value of personal property, except slaves, and such as is exempt from taxation.....	123,560,907 00
Total value of dividends, interest, etc., which is taxed.....	26,855,137 50
Total value of property embraced in business, for which a license is required.....	127,411,720 00
Estimated value of property exempt from taxation.....	31,000,000 00
Value of investments in Internal Improvement Companies, which are otherwise taxed.....	47,000,000 00
	<hr/>
	\$1,043,965,928 36

But as property is assessed for taxation at least 20 per cent. below its fair value, the Auditor adds to the assessed price of lands and personal property.....	99,710,159 16
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Making a total value of..... \$1,143,676,087 52

This sum divided between 1,087,918 persons, which is the number of the entire white population of the State, gives to each \$1,061 25.

6.—POPULATION OF AUGUSTA, GA.

	Wards.				
	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	Total.
White males.....	1,209	750	1,006	2,428	5,393
“ females.....	1,276	683	762	2,615	5,336
Slaves—male.....	828	596	578	815	2,817
“ females.....	888	569	546	1,066	3,069
Free colored—males.....	48	23	24	80	175
“ “ females.....	51	16	34	93	194
	4,300	2,637	2,950	7,097	16,984

7.—THE UNITED STATES NAVAL FORCE IN COMMISSION.

The following is a statement of our entire naval force now in commission in squadrons:

Squadron.	No. of Ships.	Officers and Men.	Tonnage.	Guns.
Mediterranean.....	3	970	3848	79
Pacific.....	7	1740	8085	91
Coast of Africa.....	6	1440	5660	67
Brazil.....	4	1060	3791	74
East Indies.....	4	710	3246	40
Home Squadron.....	11	2770	13500	218
Total in 1860.....	35	8690	38030	569
Total in 1857.....	20	4714		393

In this connection it may not be uninteresting to give a few facts concerning the distribution of British men-of-war throughout the world. It has been said that her majesty has a naval vessel within a day's sail of everywhere, which, if not literally true, would hardly seem impossible when the following table is dissected. In June last the “royal navy” had in commission on squadrons as thus stationed:

Stations.	No. of Ships.	Men.	Guns.
East Indies, China, and Australia.....	49	5051	339
Cape of Good Hope.....	8	1239	104
West Coast of Africa.....	18	885	100
Coast of Brazil.....	9	1672	146
Pacific Ocean.....	12	2845	281
North America and West Indies.....	21	3470	320
Mediterranean.....	22	5786	532
	139	21948	1872

About ten ships have lately been added to the British Fleet in China. The “Channel fleet” is not included in this table.—*New-York Post*.

8.—WHITE PAUPERISM AT THE NORTH.

The following extract from a speech, lately delivered by Mr. B. F. Butler, the democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts, presents a lively view of the internal affairs of a commonwealth, that busies itself so much about fancied wrongs in other States:

“According to the statistics furnished by the present State legislature, as a proof of their own committee, it is more dangerous to spend a year in a Massachusetts alms-house than it would have been to have led the charge of the Zouaves at the battle of the Magenta. I see this statement strikes some of you almost with dread. Let me repeat. There was a larger proportion of the regiment which led the attack at the battle of Solferino came out unscathed from that battle than there were of the paupers of 1858, who came out alive from the

State alms-houses of Massachusetts. [Sensation.] Allow me to give you the figures. How many was the average number of paupers in the State alms-houses during the year 1858? Twenty-seven hundred and some odd. How many died in the year ending October 1, 1858? Six hundred and sixty-six. One in every four. Every fourth man, woman, and child, that went into the State alms-houses of Massachusetts, died and was buried in the potter's field of a pauper's burying-ground. Three hundred and forty-one children, under the age of five years, died in those charnel-houses; and the physician of one of those houses says he does not expect to rear but three per cent. of the children brought there under one year old! Three out of a hundred—all the others, ninety-seven, to a nameless grave."

9.—VIRGINIA MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

THE Central Southern Rights Association was recently re-organized in Virginia. The following were the proceedings:

By Edmund Ruffin, Esq., of Hanover, a member of the Association:

Resolved, That the late outbreak at Harper's Ferry, of a long-concocted and wide-spread Northern conspiracy, for the destruction by armed violence and bloodshed of all that is valuable for the welfare, safety, and even existence of Virginia and the other Southern States, was, in the prompt and complete suppression of the attempt, and in all its direct results, a failure no less abortive and contemptible than the design and means employed, and objects aimed at, were malignant, atrocious, and devilish.

Resolved, That, nevertheless, the indirect results of this Northern conspiracy, and attempted deadly assault and warfare on Virginia, are all-important for the consideration and instruction of the Southern people, and especially in these respects, to wit: 1st, As proving to the world the actual condition of entire submission, obedience, and general loyalty of our negro slaves, in the fact that all the previous and scarcely impeded efforts of Northern abolitionists and their emissaries, aided by all that falsehood and deception could effect, did not operate to seduce a single negro in Virginia to rebel, or even to evince the least spirit of insubordination. 2d, As showing, in the general expression of opinion in the Northern States, through the press and from the pulpit, from prominent or leading public men, and also in the only public meetings yet held, and generally by the great popular voice of the North, that the majority, or at least the far greater number of all whose opinions have yet been expressed, either excuse, or desire to have pardoned, or sympathise with, or openly and heartily applaud the actors in this conspiracy and attack, which could have been made successful only by the means of laying waste the South and extinguishing its institutions and their defenders by fire and sword, and with outrages more horrible than merely general massacre—while the Northern friends of the South, and of the cause of right and law, are too few, or too timid to speak openly in our support, or even to make their dissent heard, and too weak to contend with the more numerous and violent assaults of the South.

Resolved, That the time has come when every State and every man of the South should determine to act promptly and effectively for the defence of our institutions and dearest rights, as well as for other important, though less vital interests; and we earnestly appeal, especially to the legislature of Virginia, and also to the legislatures of all others of the slaveholding States, that they will hasten to consult and to deliberate, and will maturely consider and discuss the condition of the Southern States, under all past aggressions and wrongs, especially this last and crowning aggression of Northern usurpation and hatred, and devise suitable and efficient measures for the defense of the Southern people and their institutions, from the unceasing hostility and unscrupulous assaults of Northern enemies, fanatics and conspirators.

The Secretary read the petition of the Central Southern Rights Association of Virginia, to the legislature in 1851.

By Col. E. Fontaine:

Resolved, That a special committee of thirteen be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take into consideration the propriety of sending the memorial of 1851

again to the legislature, with such amendments as may be deemed judicious, and to report to an adjourned meeting in the Hall of the House of Delegates, on the 6th of December, with permission of the proper authorities.

The Association elected the following gentlemen to compose the Committee of Thirteen, viz.: Messrs. Dabney P. Gooch, R. G. Morris, L. W. Glazebrook, E. Fontaine, Geo. W. Greter, N. F. Bowe, Joseph R. Anderson, Gen. O. G. Clay, Samuel Rutherford, James Lyons, William Green, Edmund Ruffin, and John Howard.

By Mr. Geo. R. Peake:

Resolved, That the President of this Association be instructed to have collected all its records, from its organization to the present time, and put in such form as to insure their future preservation.

By James Lyons, Esq.:

Resolved, That the Constitution of this Association be referred to the Committee of Thirteen, with instructions to report such amendments, if any, as they may deem necessary.

Resolved, That all the citizens of Richmond, Henrico, and the adjacent counties, be invited to attend the next meeting of this Association, to be held at the African Church, to sign the Constitution and take part in its deliberations.

Resolved, That the President of this Association be directed to call a meeting, whenever informed by the Committee of Thirteen, to whom the memorial and Constitution have been referred, that they are prepared to report.

The following were the introductory remarks of Daniel H. London, Esq., President. This address received profound attention and loud applause:

In again meeting you, with whom I have so often communed upon the interests and rights of Virginia and the South, many emotions fill my bosom. On the one hand stands the popular demonstrations which I have recently witnessed of approval and endorsement of the measures projected by you in the years 1850 and 1851, in your memorial and the accompanying documents sent to the Legislature of the State. On the other hand, it is my melancholy duty to state, that death has removed some of our brightest and most efficient members. Since our last meeting, John Lynch, Esq., at the time of his death Collector of Customs at this port, is no more; Geo. W. Clutter, Esq., died whilst acting as first Auditor of Virginia, another of our most zealous members; Major Charles Yancey, the last but two of the members of session of the Legislature of Virginia, of 1798 and '99, has gone from amongst us; he was always a zealous States Rights man, and acted with us from the beginning of our organization. James Bosher, William Wallace and John J. London, are also gone from amongst the living; Col. Charles S. Morgan, with his well-stored mind and efficient and powerful understanding, is no longer amongst the living—he contributed all of the statistical tables appended to the memorial to the Legislature in 1851—he was a member of the Virginia Convention of 1829 and 1830; and after having filled for nearly thirty years the position of the Superintendent of the Penitentiary of Virginia, he died in his office, without a single doubt in any mind as to his faithfulness in every duty to his State and country. The Hon. John Y. Mason, who died recently at the French Court, is not now ready, with his elegant diction, to instruct us and urge us forward in our noble aims—but all of them sleep on the bosom of our beloved State, and whilst we cannot recall them, yet we know that unless kept away by the icy hand of death, they would be here to-night to counsel with us as to our course of duty amidst the bursting clouds that, with us, they had watched with the eyes of wisdom and forecast when so many disregarded our warnings, and despised and ridiculed our suggestions. You are no longer dependent on any for respect. All must admit your wisdom, and be ready to admire the zeal and patriotism which have marked your action.

It would not be my province, upon so very important an occasion as this to occupy your time with suggestions of my own, as upon every other meeting; as upon this my duty is best discharged in giving every attention to your indications; and whilst I am not ready to denounce the timidity and cowardice of any, I can commend the fearless independence and manly annunciation of great purposes that have uniformly characterized all your deliberations.

No party name has ever been called in the course of any discussion here, and none ever should be. We are patriotic Southern citizens; citizens of Virginia, allied to her destiny because we prefer to guard and defend her honor; and

whilst we shall view with the deepest interest everything which may affect the interest of the Southern States, and warmly invite their co-operation with us, and stand ready to aid and assist the least as well as the greatest of the slave States in the defence of their rights, yet, whilst we are so surely warned of our own danger, we should, with the keenest and profoundest regard for our own homes and firesides, discuss such measures as may be demanded for the defence of the rights of our beloved mother—*knowing* that not a single Southern State will fail to sustain Virginia in any line of action she may think it proper and right for her to adopt. The memorial of 1851, which has been so much commended, was drawn by Dabney P. Gooch, Esq. I make this statement, that he and his posterity may share the fame which it should reflect on its author, as embodying in the simplest form one of the most vital and valuable principles of State interposition, and containing reflections worthy of any age. Whether the circumstances by which we are now surrounded shall render it necessary and proper for us to present again this memorial, with such alterations as time and experience may have suggested, or to enter into the consideration of the propriety of recommending to our Legislature the adoption of our suggestions *at once*, and calling a Convention of the Southern States, with a view of forming a Southern Confederation, or any other measure of a decisive character, you must determine. Certain it is, that we are entitled to peace and safety under any form of government, and, farther, to the fruits of our own toil, as well as the dearest of all rights to worship God as our consciences may dictate. How far these ends are served by our present union with the Northern States, we can measure surely with but little satisfaction. Whether we ought *now* to take the initiatory steps in order to construct another government in which safety may be found, is a question of gravity, and none ought to go before you in considering it, because of your professions and principles as avowed in your constitution.

Citizens, our constitution was drawn up for our organization in the year 1850, and under it we think some good has been accomplished, and in invoking your co-operation we repeat the same words which we have always employed to all who seek membership with us: "We greet with the hearty welcome of brotherhood every good citizen who unites with us in feeling, practice, and sentiment, without regard to party or nativity." Come, then, and take your places where duty and patriotism invite you, and where you may exercise, with effect, the ardent wish which every Virginian ought to entertain for the independence of our Common Mother. "God bless her, now and forever, whatever may be-tide us."

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, have recently published the *Manual of Public Libraries and Societies in the United States and British Provinces of North America*. By Wm. J. Rhees, of the Smithsonian Institution. It is a volume of near 700 pages, and will be an invaluable book in every public and private library.

From H. G. Stetson and Co., the New-Orleans publishers, we receive a copy of one of the series of valuable *Plantation Record Books*, which is prepared by Thomas Affleck, and highly endorsed in so many quarters. Mr. Affleck's "Southern Rural Almanac," is also placed upon our table.

From E. B. Bryan, of South Carolina, we have a copy of his "Minority Report in the Legislature of that State upon the African Slave Trade." It is

an able and luminous document, and it would give us much pleasure to extract fully from its pages, did we not conceive the subject at present to be entirely threadbare, other and more stirring questions having monopolized the public attention.

The prospectus of *Silliman's Journal* has been sent to us by the proprietors. It is the oldest scientific journal in our country, and it is the repository of almost everything that is useful in physical and chemical science, natural history, geography, &c. Seventy-eight volumes have already been published. Terms, \$5 per annum. New-Haven: Conn.

The house of D. Appleton & Co., of New-York, send us, through their agents J. C. Morgan & Co., and D

McGinnis, New-Orleans, the following works :

1. *Re-statements of Christian Doctrine.* By Henry W. Bellows, of New-York.

It consists of twenty-five sermons, preached at All Souls' Church. The author says: "All the argumentation with error, or supposed error, in this volume, has grown out of an earnest desire to move actual stumbling-blocks out of the way of actual people; all the questioning of popular opinions out of the necessity of extricating struggling souls from theological embarrassments, that would not let them be Christians."

2. *Great Facts.* By Frederick C. Bakewell. Illustrated.

The work contains a popular history and description of the most remarkable inventions which have been made during the present century, and is interesting and valuable.

3. *Morphy's Chess Games.*

This is a selection of the best games played by the distinguished champion, either in Europe or America. It is made by Mr. Lowenthal, who has added some critical and analytical notes. Among the games are those which were played blindfold in New-Orleans, New-York, London, Paris, etc., with the most celebrated players in those cities. The volume extends to nearly 500 pages.

4. *The Eighteen Christian Centuries.* By Rev. James White; with an Index.

The author will be remembered as having written a very comprehensive history of France. His present work was received with favor in Great Britain, and is reprinted without abridgment; some additions of names and dates have been added. It is an excellent epitome of modern history.

5. *Seven Tears, and other Tales.*

The author is Julia Kavanagh, who has produced "Nathalie," "Adele," "The Two Sicilies," etc.

6. *Evenings at the Microscope; or, Researches among the Minuter Organs and Forms of Animal Life.* By Philip Henry Gosse, F. R. S.

The volume contains but a glean; the author has swept rapidly across the

vast fields of marvels, snatching up a gem here and there, and cutting one and another of the brilliant blossoms of this flowery region, to weave a specimen chaplet, a sample coronal, which may tell of the good things behind.

7. *Here and There; or, Earth and Heaven Contrasted.*

Consisting of well-arranged extracts from Scripture and from poetry.

8. *Chambers' Encyclopadia.* Reprint, No. 9.

The Harpers, of New-York, send us, through D. McGinnis, of New-Orleans, three finely-bound and illustrated little volumes for children, entitled

1. *Stories of Rainbow and Lucky.* By Jacob Abbott.
2. *Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia.* By Jacob Abbott.
3. *Harry's Summer in Ashcroft.*

The latter explains in simple terms the habits of farming life, and the instruments of culture most in use.

Also, from Harper & Bros., through J. C. Morgan & Co., and D. McGinnis, New-Orleans :

1. *Self Help; with illustrations of character and conduct.* By Samuel Smiles.

The work teaches self-reliance in every department or sphere of life; and the lessons of industry, perseverance, and self-culture which are taught in it, and illustrated, are invaluable to the South of our country.

2. *An Appeal to the People in behalf of their Rights as authorized Interpreters of the Bible.* By Catharine E. Beecher.

This lady has prepared a variety of works, on religion, domestic economy, and health. She here undertakes to combat the Augustinian theory of the original depravity of man since the fall of Adam, and of the doctrine of election, etc. We have not examined the work.

3. *Diary of a Samaritan.* By a Member of the Howard Association, of New-Orleans.

We have been much interested in this little volume, and fully intend to take a more special notice of it.

There are many pictures of disease and death, during the epidemics of the South, which savor almost of fiction, though but too sad reality.

4. *Misrepresentation: A Novel.* By Anna H. Drury, author of *Friends and Fortune*, Eastbury, etc.

5. *A Popular History of the United States.* By Mary Howitt. Illustrated with many engravings.

The Harpers have done a wrong to the South by the publication of this work, without correcting its false teachings on the subject of slavery; and should there be another edition, we rely that the correction will be attended to. We marked many passages that are exceedingly obnoxious to criticism, and agree with what Mr. Simms has said, in the *Charleston Mercury*:

"The history of the Southern States is usually slurred over or misrepresented; its facts distorted; its claims disparaged or slighted; its arguments unconsidered; its institutions denounced. It will no doubt prove grateful enough to the sections which are hostile to the South. Of the engravings in these two volumes, there are twenty-one, of which but five are accorded to the whole South, and these are all laid in Virginia. This will sufficiently indicate the sort of partiality which has governed our fair Quaker in approaching the history of the United States. She has simply compiled from the most malignantly hostile of the New-England writers, such as Hildreth, and made hundreds of mistakes, as well as misstatements, in doing so. Even the proper names in her books are frequently misprints, and show that the publishers should have employed an American editor before sending the crude creations forth to the American people. Mrs. Howitt and her husband, William, are Quakers, and by reason of the tenets of that queerish sect, are necessarily the sworn enemies to our slave institutions."

6. *Harpers' Magazine* for Feb., 1860.

Smithsonian Report for 1859.

Law of the Territories, by Sherman.

Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World. By R. D. Owen. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co.

This is a very curious work, and makes the reader familiar with the whole sphere of the spiritual world, and develops many extraordinary facts, speculations and phenomena, connected with it.

British Reviews. Published by Leonard Scott & Co.

In our next we shall have a good

deal to say in regard to these standard publications.

Educational Repository. Monthly. Atlanta, Geo.

A new magazine, ably edited, and devoted to the cause of Southern education.

Mount Vernon. A Poem, by G. T. Ward, Esq. Written at the request of the ladies of the Florida Mount Vernon Association.

It is replete with patriotic fervor, and possesses poetic merit.

Catalogue of the Trustees, Faculty, and Students of Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.

This institution, under the direction of the Methodist Church, is in very successful operation, and has upon its register the names of seventy-six (76) students.

Observations on Malarial Fever. By Joseph Jones, M. D. Philadelphia: Collins.

The author of this work is an eminent physician of Georgia, and is professor of Medical Chemistry in the College at Augusta. His observations, which reach nearly 400 pages, are republished from the *Transactions of the American Medical Association*, and extend mainly to the physical, chemical, physiological, and pathological phenomena which are involved. It is a treatise which should be in the hands of every Southern practitioner, and would prove to be useful to our planters generally.

New American Cyclopædia, Vol. VIII.

This great work, published by the Appletons of New-York, has reached its eighth volume. It is one of the most valuable cyclopædias in the world, and for Americans the most valuable. It is contributed to by many of the ablest and best writers of the South, and is as fair to every section of the Union as it is possible for a work to be. It will be completed in about seven other volumes.

History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the year 1854. By J. H. Patton, A. M. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

This volume of 800 pages is the

production of a New-Yorker, and despite a disposition to fairness, evidences that the author is not free from the opinions which prevail in that quarter on the subject of slavery. It is manifest in his chapters relating to the "Omnibus bill," and the "Kansas question." The fault, however, does not impair the general value of the work, which is one of the most lucid and best condensations of American history extant, and will be found useful in the hands of every student. We recommend it as such.

The Pillar of Fire, or Israel in Bondage: by the Rev. J. H. Ingraham, author of the *Prince of the House of David*. Philadelphia: G. G. Evans.

The popularity of his first effort has induced Prof. Ingraham to make a second, and we understand a third work from his pen will appear in the spring, entitled, "The Throne of David."

There are many points of resemblance between the two productions which have already appeared, although they are upon perfectly independent topics, and the one never trenches upon the province of the other; the resemblance being rather in general than particular features. The former volume had for its aim the delineation of the public acts of the Saviour, as if narrated by an eye-witness. Of course, this involved a detail of his numerous miracles, and an attempt to portray the manners and customs of the Jews at that period. The present volume has for its central figure Moses, and interests us in his fortunes, now as a prince of Egypt, and now as a refugee from its injustice; in his acts as a leader of Israel, and his miracles and wonders as a prophet of God. Upon the last two points the author has conscientiously adhered to the Scripture record, but yet has had ample opportunity—of which he freely availed himself—for descriptions of persons familiar to all readers of the Bible, but who are altogether impersonal, from the fact that we have no account of their appearance, manners, or any other of those characteristics which tend to introduce us more intimately to them, and to awaken our sympathies as fellow men. All this the author has attempted to supply by a number of carefully limned sketches, and we think he has succeeded without in any respect infringing upon the

strict canon of the Word. But, perhaps, the charm of the volume to many will be found in his attempt to illustrate that portion of the life of Moses which is not revealed in the Bible, and which has ever been a fruitful subject of conjecture with all imaginative minds. Here, we cannot but think, the author has been extremely happy; at once exhibiting a high degree of dramatic power, and yet preserving the severe simplicity and loftiness of style appropriate to a character as exalted as that of the most highly-favored of all the servants of the Most High. We repeat the conviction, that the incidents of the life of Moses, as Remeses, the son of Pharaoh's daughter, as chief general of the armies of Egypt, as the first high-priest of its gorgeous worship, and as expectant heir to the throne, together with all the vicissitudes to which he was subjected in emerging from that position to the leadership of the people of God, will prove a theme of thrilling interest, and will command the admiration of the great body of intelligent readers.

In calling attention, however, to the grand central figure, we have no intention to overlook the deep interest that will attend the incidental, but laborious efforts of the author to illustrate the manners and customs, the religion, the arts, the learning, the mythology, and the resources of the wonderful Egyptian nation—at that time, confessedly, the most refined, most wealthy, and most powerful kingdom of the world.

Prescott's Complete Works. Since the decease of Mr. Prescott the copyrights of his works have passed into the hands of Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, and a new and uniform edition will shortly appear in handsome style, in 15 volumes.

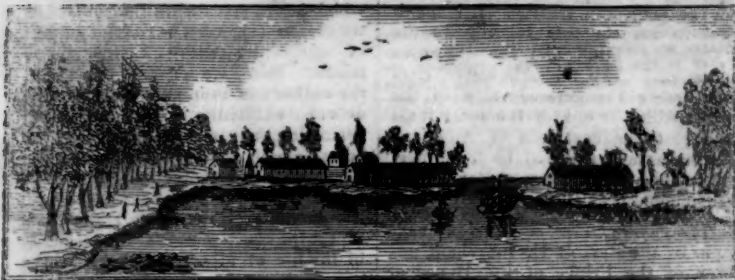
The wood-cut annexed represents the city of New-Orleans, the great commercial emporium of the South and West, as it appeared in 1719-20, only one hundred and forty years ago.

Let him marvel who walks down the crowded thoroughfares of this great mart, and sees its colossal store-houses, its palatial dwellings, its miles of paved streets, its levee groaning under a weight of produce sufficient, it

would seem, to-day, to load all of the navies of the world!

The picture is taken from a chart

prepared by M. de Serigny, which appears in Mr. Thomassy's forthcoming work upon Louisiana.



THE able article of Judge Hopkins, of Mobile, on the TERRITORIAL QUESTION, which appears in the present number of the Review, will close our reference to that issue for some time to come. Mr. Collier, of Virginia, whose excellent paper, on the same subject, appeared in the January No., has addressed us the following, which we give by the way of an important addendum:

J. D. B. De Bow, Esq.: I observe with pride your regret that you could not get in all my article, for want of room. I participate that regret, not because anything from my poor pen did not appear, but because the view of the subject presented by me has hitherto escaped the scrutiny of Southern writers and Statesmen. It was, and is, only because the doctrine I advocate is a new application of old principles, that I desired fully to unfold it in the REVIEW. It is true, as you were critically just to say, that so much of the article as you published, was "of itself complete;" but, yet, that much of it only glanced at some features or salient points of the doctrine, which needed, in the novelty of its application, to be more fully explained than the prime purpose of a reply to another's essay, as the part you inserted was, could conveniently allow. For the sake of giving the right view of the great subject of negro-slavery in the Territories and States, the prospect which the circulation of your REVIEW affords, to be seen and embraced, it may not be amiss to recur to the subject briefly.

The doctrine advanced is, that it is the duty of the Federal Legislature to refuse to admit a State from the territorial condition, with a constitution which, though "republican" in all other respects, provides for the expulsion of the slave property which was in the territory when the constitution was formed. The payment of a price to the owners for their property will not excuse the expulsion, for it does not justify the deprivation of the owners of their identical property.

It may be well, to prevent misapprehension, distinctly to express (although the terms

used in stating the doctrine do exclude the idea), that a State in our system of federation is not denied, by the doctrine, the power to prohibit the introduction of any more slaves (or of any other species of property) than are already within its jurisdictional limits. This is a reserved right of the United States, and of every territorial people, equally, in the act of putting on the harness of a State, and seeking to be united.

And the question at once arises, if the incognito (or full) State may keep out more, why may it not expel those already within its jurisdiction? A pertinent inquiry that is, and vastly important. Yet, *truth*, here as elsewhere, is very simple. The slaves have been got into the territory, because the territory is the common property of all the States already united. (If the Southern citizen could not carry his slaves there, it would not be common property.) So the fact is; and the Constitution of the United States ordains, and explicitly declares, that the citizens "of each," whether of the slave-holding or of the non-slaveholding States, shall have equal rights, "privileges, and immunities," in, and on, that territorial property, or land, which belongs to them all—to none less than to any other—no more to one than to another.

Yet, the inquiry will ask, though all that be so, plainly and simply as stated, why may not the slaves, already in the territory, when the constitution was formed, be expelled, and the new be made a "servile" instead of a slave State? And how simple here, also, is the truth. The owners of them being lawfully there with them, have, in them, the rights of property—rights which are promised protection by the same constitution, that of the United States, which conferred on them (the owners) assured permission to carry them (the slaves) into the territory. Those rights of property in the slaves were acquired long before any government now existing on this continent was established. In establishing the existing government, the individual citizens gave up, to be exercised for their benefit, not a little of their pre-existing power over their property, except as specified in the constitutions of those governments. They first established State governments; they then, as States—not as one people of all the States—established a general government. The Constitution of this general government contains an imperishable

provision in "the Bill of Rights" as Senator Pugh would say; and there is no very significant objection to that designation (yet as we in the South say) in the tenth amendment, which is a part of that constitution as much as any clause in it, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The expression, *the people*, here means the individual citizens, manifestly and incontrovertibly, for its contradistinction from the term *States*, just used in such juxtaposition, means the *collective* people. Then it is true that the *individual* citizens have reserved rights or powers as well as the *States*. Among these reserved powers are those of the individual citizens over their properties of whatever kind, including their negroes. This must be so, unless it can be shown that property in negroes in bondage is excepted out of the reservation. Who can show there is any such exception anywhere, or in any way?

There is but one idea, it occurs to me, in all the range of legislation, or of jurisprudence, which is acknowledged to be respectable in these United States, on the strength of which it can be claimed that the slave property may rightfully be expelled, and that is, that it is a *nuisance*. Now, I submit that no property is, or can be, in and of itself a nuisance. It is only a *misuser* of property, or a neglect of it to another's hurt, that can constitute a property a nuisance. The government made the creature whatever it may be, or recognizes it a *property*. If the property, by recognition of the government, is a nuisance, then the government itself is a nuisance, and the only right way in which to get rid of the property, is to lay the axe to the root of the tree and destroy the government. The idea of Mr. Reagan, of Texas, though profound enough, is not sound in its application, *to wit*, that the slave-property, in the territorial people's act of forming a constitution for a State, may be expelled; in virtue of the claim of a revolutionary right. The claim confronts and would frustrate the right. The right is secured by the "republican" system, which we should cherish in all its essentials, of which "the reserved powers" of the individual citizens over their property are scarcely inferior to their rights of personal freedom. We fail to forebode that system if we yield an iota of those reserved powers. But I must come to a close, and will only add that the claim—would it were no worse—the *concession* is, I had almost said, unqualified, and I must say, *has been*, that such revolutionary right may be perpetrated under an existing government, which is, nevertheless, to be regarded as having been thereby unaltered. And so incoherent and incautious *has been* "the admission of all political parties," as Mr. Reagan says. Aye, that is the source of the error—the fatal mistake—a mistake from which the slave States must recover by turning their faces, united, and like a flint, against it, or else ere long it will seize, with vandal hand, on our rights of property in our slaves in the States. But I must stop, though this subject has never been discussed before in the amplitude of its magnificent dimensions. Would that I were equal to the expression of my mind and heart's affection and conceptions of its momentous interests.

The Message of the President of the United States was briefly referred to in our last. He furnishes a faithful exhibit of the state of affairs in MEXICO; but his proposed remedy is as bad as the disease. Let us have war at once rather than his plan of "armed intervention," which will entail a national expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars, and finally leave Mexico upon our hands before we are ready to receive it. We have not time to go further into the consideration of the Message at present.

The *Secretary of the Interior*, Mr. Thompson, makes a very good report, and some of his suggestions in regard to the Land System and Patent Office are excellent. The Secretary disobeys the instructions of Congress to include the whole of the Mechanical Report within the compass of eight hundred pages, and frankly acknowledges it. We shall soon come to chaos if every officer imitates his example, for which reasons equally as good can be given. *Better to follow the law and leave the report unpublished.* Mr. Thompson is a great believer in the agricultural branch of the Patent Office and its reports. We have spoken of them as very trashy, and therefore are at issue with the Secretary. His arguments on this subject are for the first time heard from a Southern states rights man. Agriculture is very important, therefore, government by direct action should promote it! Will the Secretary say as much for manufactures, for commerce, and for internal improvements? We give an extract:

The agricultural reports which have been annually issued from this Department, have been favorably received by Congress, and large editions of each successive report have been printed and widely circulated. The influence exerted by them can never be ascertained; but their circulation has been followed by a spirit of inquiry in the public mind, and a readiness to adopt new methods of culture and improved implements of husbandry, and a demand for concentrated manures from remote islands, and for the introduction of useful plants and animals from abroad.

The *Secretary of the Treasury* writes a brief report. He gives the expenditures for the fiscal year ending June, 1859, as follows:

Civil, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous	\$23,638,820 04
Service of Interior Department (Indians and Pensions)	4,753,672 80

Service of War Department..	\$23,243,822 38
Service of Navy Department..	14,712,610 21
Public debt.....	17,405,285 44

\$83,751,511 57

For the year ending July, 1860, he estimates the receipts at—

Customs.....	\$55,947,670 62
Lands.....	2,470,244 62
Miscellaneous.....	1,879,650 61
Treasury Notes.....	9,367,700 00
Loan authorized.....	1,380,000 00

\$75,394,541 39

The aggregate expenditure for the next year is estimated at \$61,002,732 ; but, judging from the experience of the past, we doubt not that the Secretary's figures will fall twenty millions short of the reality. What he says in regard to the export of gold and silver is very sound doctrine :

It is estimated that since 1848 California has produced over five hundred millions of gold. Would her condition have been improved by retaining that amount of specie within her limits, to the exclusion of those articles required for the use of her citizens, and in exchange for which this specie has been sent to the Atlantic and abroad ? During the same period Georgia has produced more than five million bags of cotton. The same policy which would require California to retain her gold, beyond the legitimate wants of her people, would, with equal propriety, require Georgia to retain within her limits the excess of the production of cotton over the wants of her people. The argument is as applicable to all the States as to one, and I have used the illustrations of single States only because they were more marked and striking. Unless the export of specie goes to the extent of violating this manifest principle, it constitutes no just ground of alarm or anxiety. In this connection, it should be observed that the large excess of specie exports commences with the discovery of the Californian mines, and has increased very much in proportion to their increased production, as will be seen by reference to table 8, which exhibits, for a series of years, the amount of our export of specie. The exact amount of the production of the Californian mines during this period is not known, but it is believed that it exceeds very largely the amount which has been generally stated. We have no reliable mode of ascertaining it ; but, from the best information I have been able to obtain, I should estimate the amount for the last year at not less than seventy million dollars.

The *Army Report* is occupied mainly in details which have more or less of interest. Gov. Floyd devotes a few pages to the *Harper's Ferry affair*, and we wish at the same time he had assigned some reason for his most extraordinary disregard of the admonition upon the subject, which reached him in advance of the movement, and which might have led to its prevention.

he *Secretary of the Navy*, being a Connecticut man, speaks, of course, with much gusto of the important services of that Department in suppressing the **SLAVE TRADE**. The President has selected a very fit deputy in this particular. We give an extract :

SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

The purchase of these steamers enabled the Department to adopt more efficient measures for the suppression of the African slave trade. Being of light draught, those on the African slave coast will enter harbors and rivers where the slave traffic originates, while those on the coast of Cuba will frequent its harbors, cruise in the track of the slave traders on both sides of the island, and will be very sure to intercept such as may escape the vigilance of the former. Light steamers have been detailed to suppress this trade, four to cruise on the coast of Guinea, and an equal number on the coast of Cuba, two on each side of the island. It is intended to employ another steamer to cruise between New-Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, and Key West, for that and other purposes, as soon as she can be spared from other objects. To enable the African squadron, now consisting of three sloop-of-war and four steamers, to be constantly in the neighborhood of the places where the traffic is carried on, the depot of naval supplies has been removed from Porto Praya, in latitude north 15°, near Cape de Verde, to St. Paul de Loando, in latitude south 8°. Under the former arrangement, the vessels of the squadron, then sailing vessels only, in seas where calms prevail were most of the time employed in making the voyage from the proper cruising ground to Porto Praya for supplies, and back again to the cruising ground, and the voyage was scarcely performed before it became necessary to repeat it ; while, under the present arrangement it will seldom be necessary for them to be absent, and then for a short time only. This constant presence of a squadron of steam vessels on the coast of Africa, and a similar provision on the coast of Cuba, will render the slave traffic so dangerous for American vessels that few will be willing to embark in it. What the effect of breaking up the trade will be upon the United States or Cuba it is not necessary to inquire ; certainly under the laws of Congress and our treaty obligations, it is the duty of the executive Government to see that our citizens shall not be engaged in it, and that our flag shall not be used for its purposes.

All the world, or at least all the newspaper reporter's world give Mr. Holt, the Postmaster-General, the credit for being a very great man, and one that might even be named for the Presidency, but it is an evidence of our obtuseness that we have been unable to discover that truly wonderful grasp of intellect for which he is complimented. Certainly the management of the Post Office was never so bungling before, and the mail service such a farce. We are even, at the South-

west, bad as things are, threatened with a curtailment of our postal privileges!!!

The following statistics of transportation are taken from the Report:

Number of Post routes.....	8,723
" " Contractors.....	7,353
Length of routes, miles.....	260,052
To wit:	
Railroad.....	26,010
Steamboat.....	10,290
Coach.....	63,041
Inferior routes.....	151,792

The total annual transportation of mails was 82,308,402 miles, costing \$9,468,757, and divided as follows:

Railroad—27,268,384 miles, at \$3,243,074, about 11.9 cents a mile.
Steamboat—4,569,962 miles, at \$1,157,843, about 25½ cents a mile.
Coach—23,448,398 miles, at \$3,134,091, about 13.36 cents a mile.
Inferior modes—27,021,658 miles, at \$1,932,846, about 7.15 cents a mile.

Compared with the service reported June 30, 1858, there is a decrease of 551 miles in the length of the mail routes; an addition of 3,542,911 miles to the annual of transportation, being about 4.4 per cent., and of \$1,673,339 to the cost, or about 21.46 per cent.

The aggregate length of railroad routes has been increased 1,379 miles, and the annual transportation thereon, 1,504,932 miles; 5.84 per cent., at a cost of \$415,673, or 14.69 per cent.

The length of steamboat routes is greater by 2,169 miles, and the annual transportation by 392 miles; the cost is \$76,073 less, being a reduction of 6.16 per cent.

The addition to coach routes is 9,341 miles in length, 3,892,664 miles in annual transportation, or 19.9 per cent., and \$1,224,250 in cost, or 64.1 per cent.

The length of inferior routes is diminished 13,637 miles, and the annual transportation 1,855,037 miles; the additional cost is \$109,849; being 6.42 per cent. less in transportation, and 6 per cent. additional in cost.

Appended to this report is a table (marked —) showing in detail the mail service of every grade, as existing in each separate State and territory on the 30th of June last.

The lettings of new contracts for the term commencing 1st July last, embraced five States—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

The following table shows the new service as in operation on the 30th September:

Conveyance.	Miles in length.	Miles annual transportation.	Cost.
Railroad.....	4,230	3,830,067	\$615,964
Steamboat.....	3,257	705,918	156,558
Coach.....	3,010	1,292,536	97,155
Inferior modes..	29,120	5,232,934	331,824
Total.....	39,617	10,903,905	\$1,201,501

Compared with the service on the 30th of June last, in the same States, the length of the routes, by railroad and inferior modes, is increased 974 miles, and by steamboat and coach is diminished 6,342 miles; the annual

transportation is diminished 943,574 miles and the cost \$2,942, divided as follows:

	Miles in length.	Annual transportation.	Cost.
Railroad..	191 in.	238,796 d.	\$19,206 in.
Steamboat	2,906 d.	588,642 d.	17,346 d.
Coach.....	3,326 d.	1,104,373 d.	88,516 d.
Inferior modes }	783 in.	788,237 in.	83,716 in.

On the 30th of June last there were in the service—

475 route agents, at a compensation of.....	\$268,357
31 express agents, at a compensation of.....	0,709
42 local agents, at a compensation of.....	9,308
1,549 mail messengers, at a compensation of.....	106,999
	626,174

This amount added to the cost of service, as in operation on 30th June.....	9,468,757
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Makes the total on the 30th June last.....	10,094,931
The reductions in the cost of the service from the 30th of June to the 30th of September, were.....	657,521

Making the total amount, on 30th September.....	\$9,437,410
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NUMBER OF POST OFFICES.

Whole number of post offices in the United States on the 30th June, 1858.....	37,977
Number that were established during the year ending June 30, 1859..	1,455
Number that were discontinued..	893

Net increase of officers during the year	562
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Whole number of post offices on the 30th June, 1859.....	28,539
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Number of offices of which the names and sites were changed, 432; number of which the appointments were made by the President, 417; number of postmasters appointed during the year ending June 30, 1859, 7,548. Of these, 4,639 were to fill vacancies occasioned by resignation, 807 by removals, 295, by deaths, 292 by change of names and sites, and 1,455 by the establishment of new offices.

DETAILED EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS OF THE DEPARTMENT.

For transportation of inland mails, including payments to route agents, local agents, and mail messengers..... \$6,112,996 08

For transportation of foreign mails, to wit:

N. Y. to Liverpool.....	\$83,177 30
N. Y. to Havre.....	136,122 11
N. Y. to Bremen.....	84,151 38
N. Y., by Havana, to N. Orleans.....	17,213 43
N. Y. to Havana.....	3,989 34
Charleston to Havana.....	60,000 00
N. Y. to Vera Cruz.....	2,510 73
Aspinwall to Panama.....	100,000 00

Agencies at Panama and Aspinwall...	\$2,936 77
Transp't'n agents.	4,927 84
	<hr/> \$404,428 95
For California mails, under special appropriations, to wit:	
Panama to Astoria, from Oct. 1, 1858, to June 30, 1859.....	\$261,037 50
San Francisco to Olympia.....	122,500 00
N. Orleans to Ventoza, from Nov. 1, 1858, to June 30, 1859.....	166,006 67
	<hr/> 550,204 17
Compensation to postmasters.	2,453,900 97
Clerks in post office.....	929,900 23
Ship, steamboat, and way letters.....	14,496 86
Office furniture for post offices.....	2,137 35
Advertising.....	46,268 26
Mail bags.....	57,352 92
Blanks.....	44,917 59
Mail locks, keys, and office stamps.....	6,700 65
Mail depredations and special agents.....	52,051 85
Postage stamps.....	40,655 61
Stamped envelopes.....	49,188 43
Wrapping paper.....	31,338 35
Payments to letter carriers.....	187,037 83
Miscellaneous payments.....	181,618 21
Payments for balances due on British mails.....	146,066 81
Payments for balances due on Bremen mails.....	5,734 21
Payments for balances due on Hamburg mails.....	9,237 15
Payments for balances due on French mails.....	40,911 85
	<hr/> 11,458,083 63
Total of actual (paid) expenses But to this must be added the ascertained liabilities of the Department, which could not be paid, owing to the failure of Congress to make the usual appropriations, and which now constitute a deficiency to be provided for to June 30, 1859.....	4,296,009 20
	<hr/>
Total of actual (paid) expenditures and liabilities.....	\$15,754,092 89
The gross revenue of the year 1859, including receipts from letter carriers and from foreign postages, amounted to \$7,968,484 07, as stated below:	
Letter postage.....	\$906,531 78
Registered letters.....	25,052 95
Stamps sold.....	6,158,145 00
Newspapers and pamphlets.....	689,352 39
Fines.....	50 00
Receipts on account of emoluments.....	79,010 07
Receipts on account of letter carriers.....	187,037 83
Receipts on account of dead letters.....	3,134 79
Extra compensation overcharg'd.....	1,203 84
Miscellaneous receipts.....	19,064 52
	<hr/>
Total revenue.....	\$7,968,484 07

Judge Mason, of Iowa, who made himself so popular with the inventors of the country while he held the office of Commissioner of Patents, has associated himself with Munn & Co., at the *Scientific American* office, New-York.

We are indebted to the author, Dr. N. T. Sorsby, through his publishers, S. H. Goetzil & Co., Mobile, for a copy of his able pamphlet on Horizontal Plowing and Hill-Side Ditching, which originally appeared in the Transactions of the North Carolina State Agricultural Society, and in several of the agricultural journals.

Our *erratum* notice in the February number was after all wrong. It was intended to say that Dr. Maxey was never at the head of the University of North Carolina. In the December number, when speaking of the courtesies of our excellent friend in Barnwell District, South Carolina, the printer made us call him the Hon. A. D. instead of the Hon. J. D. Allen.

See in our advertising pages the card of Gay & West, 203 Broadway, New-York, who are the proprietors of *West's wonderful Pump*, which is regarded as the most powerful double-acting force and lift pump in the world, and is in very large use in this country and in Europe. They are the agents also of Otis' Patent Lightning Rod; Davis' Rod, etc.

We call attention to the card of the *Aina Insurance Company*, which, located at Hartford, Connecticut, has agencies in most of the Southern States, and very recently distributed about \$30,000 to the sufferers by fire at Atlanta and Griffin, Georgia. The secret of its success may be found in the maintenance of a standard of rates as a point of integrity from which the company has allowed itself on no condition to depart.

For forty years this company has been before the public, and during that time has rendered a vast amount of efficient service. It exhibits by its publications before us a list of over *fourteen thousand claims for loss*—amounting in the aggregate to *between twelve and thirteen millions of dollars*, every one of which has been promptly paid. Notwithstanding this enormous drain, so careful has been the administration, that the absolute and unimpaired cash basis, to-day, of the company is between two and three millions dollars, and its shares of \$100 each readily sold at \$235.

Will those who are indebted be pleased to make a remittance without further notice, and if they can add to our lists, favor us with that service. Many have recently done so, for which we offer sincere thanks.